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23 October 1985

NEAR EAST/SOUTH ASIA REPORT

CONTENTS

ARAB AFRICA

ALGERIA

Education Cooperation Agreement With France Signed (EL MOUDJAHID, 17 Sep 85).....	1
Situation of Political Prisoners Described (LE MONDE, 13 Aug 85).....	3
Anti-French Press Campaign Reported (LE MONDE, 24, 28 Aug 85).....	4
FLN's Weekly Paper Comments	4
Reasons for Criticism Analyzed, by Jean de la Gueriviere	5
Moroccan Press Charged With Distorted Coverage (Editorial; EL MOUDJAHID, 17 Sep 85).....	7
Tunisian Press Quoted on Renewed Maghreb Solidarity (EL MOUDJAHID, 4 Sep 85).....	9

EGYPT

Yusuf Wali Gives Views on Political Issues (Yusuf Wali Interview; AL-SIYASI, 21 Jul 85).....	11
Sa'd-al-Din Wahbah Talks About Democracy (Sa'd-al-Din Wahbah Interview; AL-SIYASI, 4 Aug 85).....	15
Overpopulation in Cairo Discussed (Hamidah Na'na'; AL-TADAMUN, 24-30 Aug 85).....	17

Issue of Parliamentary Immunity Discussed (Faruq Abu-al-'Ala; AL-SIYASI, 14 Jul 85).....	23
Compliance With Ban on Auto Decals Praised (Mamduh Rida; AL-SIYASI, 14 Jul 85).....	24
TUNISIA	
Human Rights Leader Urges Charter for LTDH (Khemais Chammari Interview; REALITES, 2 Aug 85).....	26
ARAB EAST/ISRAEL	
LEBANON	
Shaykh Sa'id Sha'ban Advocates Militant Islam (Shaykh Sa'id Sha'ban Interview; AL-NAHAR AL-'ARABI WA AL-DUWALI, 21 Jul 85).....	31
PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF YEMEN	
Minister Discusses Housing Policies, Projects (Muhammad Sa'id 'Abdallah Interview; AL-AMAL, 21 Jul 85)....	44
Agricultural Coordination Between North, South Noted (Muhammad Sulayman Nasir Interview; AL-AMAL, 28 Jul 85).....	49
SOUTH ASIA	
AFGHANISTAN	
Rebel Leader Says No U.S. Aid Received (AL-JAZIRAH, 12 Sep 85).....	52
Soviet Offensive Said Aimed at Blocking Access From Pakistan (Walter Rueb; DIE WELT, 14 Sep 85).....	54
Briefs Envoy to Libya	56
BANGLADESH	
Minister, Press Council Discuss Newspaper Control (THE NEW NATION, 11 Sep 85).....	57
Information Minister's Speech	57
Press Council Discussion	58

Trade Unions Submit Memorandum to Ershad (THE NEW NATION, 11 Sep 85).....	60
--	----

Briefs

Albanian Ambassador	62
Guatemalan Envoy Named	62
JALSHA Periodical Banned	62
Cooperation With DPRK	62

INDIA

Correspondent on Unsigned U.S.-Indian Agreement (Warren Unna; THE STATESMAN, 11 Sep 85).....	63
---	----

Briefs

Mission to Tokyo	64
Afghan Rebels	64
World Bank Loan	65
Tripura Cabinet Reconstituted	65
CPI-ML Leader's Statement	65
Tamil Nadu Cabinet Changes	65

IRAN

Islamic Scholar's Death Ascribed to Bahraini Plot (AL-JIHAD, 9 Sep 85).....	66
--	----

Commentator Condemns Iran's Support for Afghan 'Criminals' (Moscow in Persian to Iran, 10 Sep 85).....	68
---	----

Prosecutor-General Warns Against Counterrevolutionaries' Return (Tehran Domestic Service, 30 Sep 85).....	70
--	----

Dissident Says Only Armed Struggle Will Topple Regime (Radio Iran, 22 Sep 85).....	72
---	----

Clandestine Radio Cites Anti-Regime Statement by Military (Radio Najat-e Iran, 22 Sep 85).....	73
---	----

Briefs

Customs Administration Monthly Report	74
Wheat Purchase From Kordestan	74

PAKISTAN

Jamaat-e Islami Chief Talks About Party's Agitation, Regime (Mian Tufail Mohammad Interview; JASARAT, 25 Jul 85).....	75
--	----

Minister Briefs House on UK Racial Disturbances (Karachi Domestic Service, 30 Sep 85).....	79
---	----

Amnesty's Prison Torture Report Said 'Chilling Indictment'	
(Ayaz Amir; VIEWPOINT, 12 Sep 85).....	80
Sind: Grievances Discussed in Detail	
(Shahid Kardar; VIEWPOINT, 12 Sep 85).....	82
Idea To Set Up Federal Reserve Force Supported	
(Editorial; DAWN, 13 Sep 85).....	90
JI Proposes Own Amendments to Constitution	
(DAWN, 21 Sep 85).....	92
Assembly Members' Support for Junejo Hailed	
(Editorial; JANG, 21 Aug 85).....	93
Mengal Discusses Views on Confederation	
(Ataullah Mengal Interview; JANG, 21 Aug 85).....	95
Literacy: Lack of Action Criticized	
(DAWN, 21 Sep 85).....	98
Mazari, Ghafoor Criticize Amendments Bill	
(DAWN, 13 Sep 85).....	99
Leaders State Opposition to Amendments Bill	
(DAWN, 21 Sep 85).....	100
National Assembly Member Talks in Support of Amendments	
(DAWN, 21 Sep 85).....	102
National Assembly Speaker Urges Fiscal Changes	
(DAWN, 21 Sep 85).....	103
Mail Censoring Termed 'Offensive'	
(VIEWPOINT, 12 Sep 85).....	104
Cost of 'Whitened' Wealth Analyzed	
(M. Nawaz Khan; DAWN, 14 Sep 85).....	105
Report Terms Biharis' Plight 'Tragedy for Islam'	
(ARABIA: THE ISLAMIC WORLD REVIEW, Aug 85).....	110
Commentary on Situation	110
Background Explained	111
Repatriation Committee Head Interviewed	113
Transportation, Other Problems Discussed	116
Muslim World League Official Interviewed	117
British MP Talks About His Initiative, Efforts	119

Briefs

Notices Against SBFP Leaders	122
Indemnity Bill Criticized	122
Arrest of Tribesmen Reported	122
Left Bank Outfall Drain	123
Magazine Forfeited	123

ALGERIA

EDUCATION COOPERATION AGREEMENT WITH FRANCE SIGNED

Algiers EL MOUDJAHID in French 17 Sep 85 p 4

[Text] At the conclusion of the official visit to Algeria paid by French Education Minister Jean-Pierre Chevenement, a joint communique was released yesterday evening. The text follows.

"At the suggestion of Abdelhak Brerhi, member of the Central Committee and Minister for Higher Education, Jean-Pierre Chevenement, France's minister for Education, paid an official visit to Algiers from 14 to 16 September 1985.

"The two ministers and their delegations proceeded to a broad examination of the state of cooperation between their countries in the area of advanced training and university-level research. They identified the approaches, the objectives, and the process for expanding such cooperation.

"In this context, the ministers laid particular emphasis on the need for taking a global approach in exchanges between institutions for training and research operated by their ministries. This step should also integrate advisory leadership for doctoral teaching in Algeria with placement and accommodations in France for Algerian students, particularly in the scientific and technical fields, into French universities, training courses and short- and medium-term missions, scientific and technical documentation and publications, as well as encouraging joint research.

"The inter-university cooperation projects thus provide a special instrument for implementing this kind of cooperation.

"To this end, the inter-university cooperation projects approved by a joint evaluation and outlook evaluation committee will get into full swing during 1985-1986. A working agenda was adopted by common agreement by the delegations. The committee will meet again in October 1985 in Algiers to look into the progress of some projects, and to propose new agreements along these same lines.

"The ministers congratulated one another on the results achieved in Franco-Algerian cooperation concerning advanced education and research at the university level, on their convergence of views as to desired progress and on the cordial atmosphere that prevailed at this meeting. These results and these projects are part of the set of goals which Presidents Chadli and Mitterrand defined during their meetings on expanding cooperation between France and Algeria. M Chevenement made a point of thanking M Brerhi and the other Algerian dignitaries for the quality and warmth of their reception.

"Elsewhere, Jean-Pierre Chevenement was the guest of Abdelhamid Brahimi, an alternative member of the Political Bureau and Prime Minister, and by Mohamed Kharroubi, a member of the Central Committee and Education Minister; also present was Leila Ettayeb, alternative member of the Central Committee and deputy minister for secondary and technical education."

6182

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ALGERIA

SITUATION OF POLITICAL PRISONERS DESCRIBED

Paris LE MONDE in French 13 Aug 85 p 4

[Text] The 14 dissidents who since 30 July have been observing a hunger strike, gave up the action on Saturday 10 August, we learned from a source close to the prisoners' families. They received assurances from prison authorities concerning the conditions of their imprisonment, which have begun to improve; this was their principal demand, the same source adds.

Separated from each other in three detention centers (Berrouaghia, Medea and Ksar-el-Bokhari, located south of Algiers) when their hunger strike began, the prisoners were demanding that they be brought together in a single place, as well as the right to use the "nearby visiting room". They also wanted to be recognized as entitled to special status.

In a communique distributed in Paris, the Algerian Human Rights League, an association that is not accepted by the authorities and whose president, Abdenour Ali Yahia, is among the prisoners, "protests the ill treatment suffered by Abboute Arezki at the central police station at the time of his arrest; the placing of the defendant Mehenni Ferhat in the quarters of those condemned to die at Berrouaghia; and the lack of observance of time limits on police custody".

Two attorneys were accepted by the examining judge and were able to see the 14 prisoners, but no charge has been filed as yet against Ali Yahia, we are told. The other 13, who were arrested during a demonstration celebrating the 23rd anniversary of independence on 5 July, were charged with assembling on a public thoroughfare, possession of tracts and conspiracy.

A petition has begun to be circulated in Algeria demanding the release of the 14, and, according to the Algerian Human Rights League, two persons have been questioned for having been found in possession. One of them, who was arrested on 3 August, was charged on 7 August with distribution of tracts.

About 100 persons demonstrated without incident on Saturday afternoon, near the Algerian embassy in Paris, responding to an appeal by the Algerian Workers Committee and the Movement for Democracy in Algeria. They intended to "demonstrate their censure of the repression that holds sway in Algeria and to express their solidarity with all political prisoners".

ALGERIA

ANTI-FRENCH PRESS CAMPAIGN REPORTED

FLN's Weekly Paper Comments

Paris LE MONDE in French 24 Aug 85 p 3

[Text] Algiers (AFP)--In its last issue REVOLUTION AFRICAINE, the FLN weekly newspaper, expressed the belief that colonization gave rise to a "venture in systematic genocide" and that it is imperative that Algeria write that story in "all its dimensions".

In its editorial published on the occasion of the 30th anniversary of the uprising of 20 August 1955 in Northern Constantine, the newspaper said, "If voices are raised among our former executioners and torturers, crying infamy, we will pay no attention," because the story must be written "with the cruel, horrible truths about colonial repression, and with our own glorious truths."

Without mentioning him, the paper also criticizes the French ambassador to Algiers, Francois Scheer, who brought up the question when he was receiving representatives of the French community last 14 July*.

"The fact that foreign diplomats exceed their obligation to reserve judgment on our wish to contribute to the writing of the history we have lived through will not soften our determination to describe colonialism in its most contemptible truth," REVOLUTION AFRICAINE said.

The weekly, which is publishing an 11-page dossier on the mass graves that have been discovered in Algeria in recent years, also says that "Oradour-sur-Glane, Dachau and Buchenwald have hundreds of counterparts in Algeria. What the French army did in our country in the name of pacification has never been undertaken anywhere else."

The civilizing project (of colonialism) was in fact a plan for the extermination of a people that was fundamentally different, precisely in the areas of civilization and culture," the newspaper adds.

*Mr Scheer said: Regardless of the vicissitudes of its long history and the effects of its errors, France needs no lesson from anyone on the practice of democracy and defense of human rights." (LE MONDE, 16 July

Paris LE MONDE in French 28 Aug 85 p 3

[Article by Jean de la Gueriviere: "A Dangerous Game"]

[Text] What must really be called the anti-French campaign continues in Algiers. The single party's weekly accuses France's ambassador of failing to respect his "obligation to remain objective" because, addressing his compatriots--essentially to urge them to keep cool--in the chamber of the embassy on the occasion of the 14 July holiday, he showed some irritation at the "lessons" they wanted to administer in Paris. In the same weekly, a "dossier" evokes "the Dachaus, the Buchenwalds that number in the hundreds in Algeria". On Sunday 25 August, the daily EL MOUDJAHID announced "the discovery of another mass grave in Jijel".

For the last several months, a macabre accounting having to do with the crimes committed by France during the war in Algeria made headlines in the press. With these mass grave affairs, Algeria undoubtedly has the impression it is on velvet; it knows that France does not have a clear enough conscience to be tempted to register a denial, even though some believe "too much is too much", but it can no longer ignore the fact that the reminders of the past, which are more and more insistent, have a strange ring after the visit to Paris of an Algerian president who said he considered, as far as the war was concerned, that "the page had been turned".

When, in the spring, Algerian television accused France of having tested its first atomic bomb on Algerian guinea pigs, Paris may have hoped that it was an internal affair mounted by a clan hostile to President Chadli's rapprochement policy. Today, the repetition of these attacks in a press emanating directly from the party or closely controlled by the authorities, scarcely leaves any doubt about the approval, at the very least, of the highest spheres of the government.

One of the explanations to be ruled out: this is a popular campaign that makes it possible to create a diversion in the presence of increasing economic problems. The Algerian has not forgotten the colonial period or the crimes committed to "maintain order", but that memory is not incompatible with the feeling that his everyday life still depends on the state of relations with France.

The Hot and the Cold

Whatever events may occur, a privileged class, close to the "nomenclatura", can always conduct fruitful investments in France, get health care or send its children to study across the Mediterranean. The average Algerian, the one who "goes shopping" when he visits an immigre relative or friend, lives in fear of a crisis that would drive France to close the trap tighter. The enthusiastic welcome given Mitterrand when he visited Algiers, the general optimism that was perceptible at the time of Chadli's return visit, had no other cause than this aspiration to move persons and goods around without hindrance. In a country where, in the presence of a French guest, one speaks discreetly "of the events" when mentioning the war, EL MOUDJAHID's editorials arouse anxiety rather than a spirit of revenge.

It is probable that Algiers is once more resorting to the "strategy of tension", with which it has often been successful. It consists of artificially creating a crisis, of throwing the French opponent into a panic, to obtain from them at the time of an ephemeral reconciliation, concessions that had not been granted in a calmer climate. Currently, for example, France is being "punished" for not choosing Algeria against Morocco in the Western Saharan conflict, for "haggling over" its hydrocarbons purchases while "taking advantage of" a context that is less favorable to the seller than it used to be, for harboring Algerians who inform its press about human rights violations in their country.

Having learned from experience, Paris now seems to receive the Algerian rantings phlegmatically. The danger is that in the long run this campaign will run over onto that part of the population that is not in a position to "make allowances". Already, children of French expatriates are the object of demonstrations of hostility by young Algerians on the day after certain television broadcasts that are virulent against France. It is almost amazing that, among the adults there are not more weak or fanatically-minded people to set themselves up as dispensers of justice.

Except for a few painful affairs, the most recent of which was the attack on two monks mentioned on 31 July by the Pope, the French colony in Algeria can only pay homage to the hospitality of the populace. For how long? In many respects, the campaign now in progress is as irresponsible as the racist words sometimes used in France against all immigres.

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ALGERIA

MOROCCAN PRESS CHARGED WITH DISTORTED COVERAGE

Algiers EL MOUDJAHID in French 17 Sep 85 p 4

[Editorial: "Challenge!"]

[Text] The grand debate over the enrichment of the National Charter, which has been going on now for over a month all over the country, is unquestionably one of the great moments in the final process of naturalization for the democratic spirit that subtends all political life in Algeria. Every day, relayed and amplified by the newspapers, the radio, television, and all the media, the voices of party-members and citizens, workers and peasants, cadres, the young and the not-so-young men and women, stand up to voice, without complacency and with total frankness, the opinion of the masses as to their past, their present, and their future. In truth, and in the opinion of many observers, it is a rare country that can point to such a glorious greening, such a flowering of democracy.

Even so, this is the moment the Moroccan daily L'OPINION picked to launch its impudent attempt to teach Algeria "a lesson in democracy." According to this sheet, Morocco's political system is "exemplarily democratic," whereas the Algerian people are victims of "blind repression, physical liquidation, incarceration, and torture." Once again, we hear the robber crying "Stop, thief!" Apparently, what bothers L'OPINION most -- Algerian television and radio can be received over a considerable reach of Moroccan territory -- is the ongoing discussion of the National Charter with its total freedom of speech and its unconstrained sincerity. The Moroccan daily chooses this way to cushion the impact of the event on the Moroccan people.

Really, though, L'OPINION makes our task far too easy. How can you compare what is incomparable? We shall confine ourselves to citing the features common to people's assemblies in Algeria, without fuelling rancor to the point of describing what happens in Morocco -- though we may yet have to do that one of these days -- nor shall we ask the "Moroccan system" to imitate us in all things -- maybe demand suicide?

The Algerian Revolution is made by the people and for the people. That is not a mere symbolic blazon, but an everyday reality in

our country. It is not the "Consent of the Prince" that allows it, but an entire complex of institutions ranging from the People's Community Assembly and the Workers in Enterprise Assembly all the way to the People's National Assembly and the Central Committee of the FLN, democratically elected by the Congress, by way of the Wilaya People's Assemblies and the intermediate venues of the party. In our country, democracy is not a simple topic for discourse, a hollow slogan for demagogic consumption, but an institutional base solidly rooted in the country's daily life. There is no major issue that is not discussed and debated by the whole people, through their mass organizations and people's assemblies. There is no major decision, no essential option taken without the consent of the people. Moreover, it is the ethic and the spirit of the November Revolution that govern it and the honor and pride of every Algerian is to be faithful to it, to hallow forever the memory of the million and a half martyrs who made the supreme sacrifice for their people. This is why Algeria chalks up success after success, why it has no need for expansionist adventure to distract its people's attention.

What ails you, gentlemen of L'OPINION? We aren't asking you to set up people's assemblies, to subject your policies to judgment by freely elected representatives, to establish a permanent democratic structure similar to ours. We do, however, challenge you: Once, just once, give the floor to your people, our brother; let it once, just once, express its views in complete freedom, in the press, into the radio microphones and before the TV cameras, as we do now in our country, and as we have done before. Let your people, just once, just one single time, say in all frankness what they wish, what they want, outside of parties "more royalist than the king," without rigged "elections. Once, just once, let the citizen of the Rif and of Casablanca say aloud what he thinks of his living conditions and of the behavior of his rulers.

We do it here, because the Algerian Revolution is powerful and rests securely on the shoulders of the people in their numbers. It is a model that frightens you "like the plague," one you seek by lies and slander to ward off by trying to blind your public opinion. We are not "exporters," but then neither do we tolerate insults and lies. And, we repeat, we challenge you to imitate us.

6182

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ALGERIA

TUNISIAN PRESS QUOTED ON RENEWED MAGHREB SOLIDARITY

Algiers EL MOUDJAHID in French 4 Sep 85 p 3

[Text] Below the headline: "This Great Rendezvous with History," ACTION, the French-language publication of the Tunisian Social Destourian Party (PSD) underscores the point that Monday's visit by the Head of state "was, as we all should have expected, a great success, particularly in that it came at a time when the omens were particularly propitious for insertion into the framework of the treaty of brotherhood and concord signed between the two countries on 20 Mar 1983, thereby engendering a new dynamics in their bilateral relations. This treaty, which Presidents Bourguiba and Bendjedid had recognized as a great rendezvous with history and which has furthered the strengthening of the great bond of solidarity forged in Algiers during the official visit of the Supreme Warrior to that brother nation has come to full fruition here and now, thanks to the ever more evident determination of Tunisian and Algerian leaders to build the future together, with an eye to the requirements dictated by the common interests, geopolitical constraints, and their reaffirmed understanding in the face of every challenge."

After reviewing the results of President Bendjedid's visit at the popular, economic, and defense levels, the PSD publication argues that it has "enhanced the dynamics of solidarity and cooperation between Tunis and Algiers, which can draw upon its solidity and its efficacy, as well as upon its capacity to respond to the demands thrust upon it to safeguard our precious achievements and the civilizing values we all hold so dear. Bourguiba and Bendjedid have firmly decided to make that dynamic irreversible, so that any notion of destabilizing the region, to infringe upon its integrity, its independence, or its determination to give rise to common projects on a scale with the aspirations of the peoples who belong to it will be doomed to failure."

"In order that all those in the Great Maghreb who cherish that same vision of a collective effort to be made to consolidate the shift toward complementary unity may pursue their action secure from storms, and in the tranquility sought by the major peoples.

"So that, on the world scene, the Maghreb, the real one, may emerge as a welcome and credible entity, as an achievement worthy of thoughtful, honest men, imbued with adult determination and with a high consciousness of their responsibilities.

"All of us must be able to say proudly, today, that, thanks to this skill, Bourguiba's Tunisia and Bendjedid's Algeria have risen, through a keen awareness of history, to the stature evoked by the obligations dictated to them by their communities for the present and the future, and have strengthened the union through their efforts, all in order to serve, whatever fleeting difficulties may ensue, the ideal of the Maghreb," ACTION concludes.

The PSD's Arabic-language publication, AL AMAL, commenting on the meeting of the two presidents, voices heartfelt admiration for both, who, it says "Yesterday rose up to meet the aspirations of the Tunisian and Algerian peoples toward solidarity, brotherhood, and amity in fair weather and foul."

Citing the activism of the two leaders as well as their clear-sightedness in shepherding their people for their good and toward prosperity, AL AMAL goes on, referring to the treaty of peace and amity concluded between the countries, that "Tunisian-Algerian solidarity at the political, popular, and economic levels is a reassuring factor."

Under the headline: "Brotherhood in Action," LE TEMPS notes that 2 years and 5 months after its signature, the treaty between Algeria and Tunisia "stands forth as a document whose scope and value are very precious and altogether real. President Bendjedid's visit to Tunisia bears witness to the deep solidarity that prevails between our countries."

"Just like Bourguiba, Bendjedid is one of those who are actively working for a united, supportive Maghrēb, which must be built in the light of commitment to constructive action rather than through empty and meaningless slogans," the daily concludes.

Heading its editorial "Brotherhood and Amity," LA PRESSE, commenting on the same event, makes the point that there is, in the Algerian president's reaffirmation of ~~restored~~ solidarity between Algeria and Tunisia, solidarity at all levels and in all circumstances, an eloquent expression of the perspicacity of the decision that led to the treaty of brotherhood and amity between the two peoples and pledges "Tunisia and Algeria [to be] the backbone of the Great Arab Maghreb."

NOTE: Citizens desirous of contributing to the Tunisian National Solidarity Fund may address their gifts to the special account opened for the purpose: Compte Depot N° 61/610.

6182

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EGYPT

YUSUF WALI GIVES VIEWS ON POLITICAL ISSUES

Cairo AL-SIYASI in Arabic 21 Jul 85 p 4

[Interview with Yusuf Wali, assistant secretary-general of National Democratic Party, by Muhammad 'Alam: "23 July Revolution Is Link in Chain of Egyptian Struggle", date and place not specified

[Text] In his interview with AL-SIYASI, Dr Yusuf Wali, assistant secretary-general of the National Party, stated that:

--The date for the party's fourth general conference has not yet been set.

--The political office will set the date and place for this conference at its next meeting.

--In the next stage, the party will concentrate on problems of development and production.

--The failure to remove immunity from a deputy committing a felony or a misdemeanor is an attack on the law.

--The July Revolution has its accomplishments which cannot be denied.

The text of the interview follows.

[Question] What does the division of the party "following" mean to the governorates?

[Answer] The National Party believes in activating the popular bases which trusted it to solve their problems. The field division of the following in the governorates, which was approved by President Mubarak for the purpose of pursuing party activities everywhere, follows naturally from this. It is well-known that each governorate has a special character and problems which differ from the rest of the governorates. Therefore, it was necessary to divide this work among the members of the general secretariat to enumerate the problems of each governorate and submit them to the executive leadership for appropriate decisions. We are now preparing a plan of compliance for the governorates.

As I said earlier, each governorate has conditions which differ from the others, and this leads us to consider solutions according to existing conditions, whether by way of decisions made by the political leadership or by way of participation by the citizens themselves. Naturally, the perspective here is a party point of view, and this means that we must study and discuss the problem before it is reviewed by the responsible agencies.

Fourth General Conference

[Question] There have been conflicting statements about holding the fourth general conference of the National Party. What is the truth?

[Answer] The fact is that no date has yet been set for this conference because this falls within the jurisdiction of the political office, which is expected to set the date at its next meeting. In general, specific committees have started to prepare for the conference. Some of them have actually prepared studies on the questions which each committee has adopted to be reviewed by the overall planning committee. Some committees have actually completed preparation of these studies. The importance of holding the fourth general conference comes from the party's winning a majority in the last parliamentary elections and from the party's reorganization.

[Question] From your point of view, what is the role of the parties in economic development?

[Answer] It is well-known that we are moving through a 5-year plan, as we are about to enter its 4th year, during which a number of projects have been and are being implemented. The plan, in its scientific concept, consists of development projects which fill the needs of society. From this starting point we have now begun to consider preparing the second 5-year plan. The role of the parties here comes in participating in this initiative by submitting ideas, enlightening public opinion with the facts, and actually participating in preparing the studies.

People Reject Marches

[Question] What do you think of the phenomenon of public marches which the courts rejected?

[Answer] If we look closely, it is clear that the Egyptian people are by nature a religious people, and I do not exaggerate when I say that most Islamic peoples adhere to their religion.

This is one aspect.

The other side is that we all agree on the principle of applying Islamic law and want the day when it is applied to come.

However, there are constitutional organizations which have jurisdictions, interests and views, and there is no more to it than that there are committees studying and discussing things. I do not want us to establish a position or

points of view, for there are means available and legitimate appropriations. Then there is a very important question, and that is that the Egyptian people reject such activities as not in their interest, since marches tend to hinder development and shake up stability.

[Question] Dr Wali, it has been noted that you are a constant target of attack by the opposition.

[Answer] As a ruling party we believe in constructive and objective opposition, and we respect every sincere opinion. As long as we have taken this path, we must then be able to put up with that since that is the nature of democracy. As for me, I am not annoyed by constructive criticism, and there is no situation between the opposition and myself. If there were some unknown reasons, then that is another matter to ask them about! Finally, we say that the masses, who observe and watch us, are very well aware who is uttering empty slogans and glittery words which do not mean a thing!

Successful Parliamentary Session

[Question] Could we have your evaluation of the past parliamentary session?

[Answer] This session was fruitful and in earnest. In it we saw party dialogue, discussions by all parties, and ideas from all orientations. Indeed, I say that this session was on a high level in diverse parliamentary traditions, since attendance by the ministers increased and the deputies' average attendance rose. We also noted that the opposition and majority points of view came together on several matters and questions.

[Question] In your opinion, is lifting immunity an attack on democracy or a confirmation of it?

[Answer] First, the deputy has rights and duties just as other citizens, and he must not ask for himself personally what his equals do not have. Therefore, if he made a mistake or did something which was subject to punishment by law, he must be subject to the supervision of the judicial system. This is the practical application of the principle of the sovereignty of the law. If one imagines that a deputy can perpetrate a felony, a misdemeanor or an infraction and then cannot be prosecuted and the court cannot bring him to trial, then we violate the law, which says that Egyptians are equal before the law.

Parliamentary immunity in democratic nations was established for members of representative councils not as a personal privilege, but to guarantee constitutional protection to the legislative authority to protect its independence from other authorities. Is this not democracy? Or does the custom of classifying things by whatever standard one chooses still rule in some cases?

July Revolution Remains

[Question] Some feel that the 23 July Revolution has ended. What do you think?

[Answer] We consider the July Revolution as part of the struggle of the Egyptian people for liberation and development. It is one of the links of the revolution undertaken by the Egyptian people for their economic, political and social self-determination. From this starting point, we can say that the July Revolution realized several achievements for the Egyptian people, who were helpless before the revolution. Only an unbeliever or one who hates the revolution could deny that it changed the outlines of society in many fields. Despite what was or is said about it, the revolution is deeply rooted and lofty to the souls of the people, who recognize what it has achieved.

7587

CSO: 4504/441

EGYPT

SA'D-AL-DIN WAHBAH TALKS ABOUT DEMOCRACY

Cairo AL-SIYASI in Arabic 4 Aug 85 p 5

[Interview with Sa'd-al-Din Wahbah member of the People's Assembly, by al-'Azab al-Tayyib al-Tahir: "It Would Not Harm the Practice of Democracy If We Had 100 Parties"; date and place not given]

[Text] Deputy Sa'd-al-Din Wahbah said to AL-SIYASI:

"Democratic practice is gaining new ground every day, both with the majority and with the opposition. This practice has been reflected in the activity of the various parties that are not present in the People's Assembly. Their activity is represented by the symposia and public meetings they hold and by what they publish in the newspapers."

Sa'd-al-Din Wahbah indicated that he believes not a single excess took place on the part of any political party, particularly after the end of the election campaign, one that had a somewhat sharp nature. As soon as the campaign ends, everyone begins to carry on political activity in the arena.

[Question] Does that mean that there are no negative factors in practice?

[Answer] No. Naturally there are some negative factors. Some people either in the majority or in the opposition still lack a feeling of democracy. The man in the street still does not have complete faith in democracy, nor is he firmly convinced in his heart that it is true democracy. A pro forma democracy was practiced in the past. The ordinary man in the street must arrive at a full conviction, so that he takes an interest in the election procedure, so that there can be a strong link between him and his representative in the People's Assembly, and so that he can take part in the shaping of decisions and issues. We have not yet reached that point. Democracy has to begin from bottom up, not the reverse.

[Question] How shall we best strengthen democracy?

[Answer] I think the political parties have to set up workshops for study, so as to assist their leaders and to build up political cadres. Also, I think that as the parties come to believe in democratic practice and strive to make democracy take root, we shall arrive at strengthening democratic practice in the best way.

[Question] Are new parties desirable?

[Answer] I do not say that we need parties; rather, I say that every tendency has the right to express itself. If anyone now says that the present parties are sufficient for the beginning of the practice of democracy and that there are certain preconditions for the existence of a party, I would reply that this is a temporary arrangement and that I completely believe in the right of every political tendency to express itself. In a few years, when democracy has taken firm root, I do not think it would harm the practice of democracy for there to be 100 parties in Egypt. Why not?

12937

CSO: 4504/484

EGYPT

OVERPOPULATION IN CAIRO DISCUSSED

London AL-TADAMUN in Arabic 24-30 Aug 85 pp 33-36

[Article by Hamidah Na'na': "Egyptian Capital's Concerns away from Politics; Cairo in Population Volcano"]

[Text] Cairo--"I am the beginning and end of all creatures. In living things, I am the conscience; in fertility, I am love; among rivers, I am the Nile and I am the wind and I am time everlasting."

From the time I reached Cairo, these words have been haunting me and neither memory nor counter-memory has helped me recall where I had heard them. Are they a Mayan song, an imploration to Krishna or a sad song of Egyptian peasants for whom the Nile has been and will continue to be the source of their livelihood?

Since arriving in the city, I have been looking for the Cairo with which I have been enamored in books, in history, in speeches and in the movies. But I declare with pain that today's Cairo is not the Cairo that has been and that will continue to be a part of the memory of any Arab intellectual. "Should I say good-bye to yesterday's Cairo?"

I will not say the words because I cannot announce the death of a dream by which we need to live.

There is no doubt that there is a relationship binding any Arab intellectual to Cairo. It is the relationship of sharp knowledge, even though one-sided. As soon as the intellectual reaches the city of Mu'izz-al-Din, his curiosity propels him to rush toward the names engraved in his memory: Khan al-Khalili, Ziqaq al-Midaqq, Bayn al-Qasrayn, Hayy al-Qal'ah, Khawkhath al-Sa'dan, Manshiyat al-Bakri, al-Minyil and many other names immortalized by Najib Mahfuz, Tawfiq al-Hakim, Taha Husayn, Muhammad 'Abd-al-Wahhab and many others. Then come the cinema and the television to engrave these names deeper and to introduce them to Arabs outside Egypt.

But memory and the dream are one thing and the reality another. The distance between the two is very, very long.

For 2 weeks I have been looking with great eagerness, which is known and experienced by this city's population, for Cairo--a city which the experts

believe has a capacity for no more than 3 million people but which is now swarming with 12 million people. This fact has contributed to touching off all of Cairo's problems at once--problems similar to the catastrophes of the Third World where each state carries a big head on a lean body. This head is the capital, compared to the state's other cities and territories. These problems include the terrible housing crisis, equaled by no similar crisis in any of the world's capitals, including Latin America's capitals. This crisis has compelled the thousands marching from the countryside in the direction of Cairo to live in shacks and graveyards, forming around the city a belt of misery which, to be eliminated, needs millions, rather billions, of dollars that the Egyptian economy cannot afford.

For example, some of the colleague journalists working in the major papers are forced to live in Isma'ilia and spend 4 hours commuting, not counting the time it takes them to get from their offices to the transportation points outside the capital. If the salaries of these journalists permit them, at times, to find an apartment in Isma'ilia, there are others whose salaries do not permit them such a luxury and who abandon their families in the countryside and rent in Cairo's suburbs shacks which lack all sanitary and human conditions.

This crisis is causing the city to develop a tumor, not expand. The city is stretching in the direction of Heliopolis in the form of an architectural madness that derives nothing from the Egyptian people's heritage or history. It is an architecture in which the American school mixes with the Japanese and European schools to produce an amazing mosaic and to turn Cairo into one of the world's ugliest cities. Next to a two-floor villa built in good architectural taste rises a skyscraper and next to a skyscraper, as in the case of the al-Ahram building, lie al-Turkuman shacks (a poor quarter considered to be a drug center). Architectural harmony exists only in the city's center which was built in the 18th and 19th centuries and the beginning of the 20th century.

Maj Gen Sabri Abu Talib, the governor of Cairo, expresses in his press statements his ever-present concern over the city's degeneration. He said, after being accused of seeking to turn Cairo into a city closed to outsiders:

"Cairo's problems are numerous not because the size of its population but because of its high population density, which poses a danger to all aspects of its life and services and which affects its traffic, sanitation and public health."

The governor added: Cairo's population density amounts to 28,000 people per square km, whereas this density should not exceed 14,000 under any circumstances. This means that to make things move in the city normally and properly, we have to build another Cairo.

The governor's words are confirmed daily in Cairo's streets and suburbs by countless catastrophes, beginning with the eruption of water pipelines, the collapse of an apartment building because of neglected maintenance or of cheating in construction and the eruption of sewer lines and ending with the fall of pedestrians into the potholes that are all over the roads.

The question is: why have matters reached this state of neglect and deterioration? How can this city, which incorporates an important part of Arab and Islamic history, be saved and how can Cairo's old face be restored?

These questions are on everybody's lips here, be he a state official or an ordinary citizen. The answers are numerous and range from constant emigration from the countryside to the city, moving many of the agencies, establishments and factories outside Cairo and building new housing units in the suburbs to alleviate the murderous overcrowding of the city's center to establishing better programs and a higher budget to improve the city's services that have been subjected to neglect in past years, and so forth.

But there are others who see more fundamental, but also less reasonable, solutions, such as building a new capital, i.e., the revival of an old plan projected in the early 1960's, as if building a new capital is less costly than repairing the existing one.

Far from politics, let us tour Cairo's streets. A French writer who visited Egypt recently commented on what he saw: "The day of Cairo's inhabitant begins with agony and ends with agony. So what consolation is there for him other than to produce more children?"

What are the reasons for the daily agony of the population of this most deeply rooted city? They are undoubtedly numerous. Let us begin listing:

Traffic jams?!

Yes, traffic jams. The paramount problem before which all stand powerless. I believe that the minister of transportation himself may be forced to spend an hour in his car at noontime before he can cross al-Tahrir Square. In this problem, both Cairo's rich and poor, officials and ordinary people are equal. Here, one finds out what it means to "chase" a metro car jammed with people and finds out that several, not just one, appointments are missed because of traffic jams. Here, one finds out, if he takes by mistake one bridge instead of another, how he can be "lost," moving in the same direction for 3 hours without being able to change this direction because the madness of modern engineering has turned Cairo into a "bunch of bridges" similar to Tokyo and San Francisco.

The era of the open-door economy has put 1/2 million vehicles into Cairo alone. If we add to the fumes of these 1/2 million vehicles the fumes of the factories set up in Cairo and of human respiration, then the damage caused by the air pollution rate is equal to smoking two packs of cigarettes a day. Yes, if we look toward the sky in Cairo we can see the air we breathe embodied in a thick mass that obstructs visibility.

The presence of 1/2 million cars in Cairo may not in itself be the problem. The real problem is that this 1/2 million are compelled to cross the city center time and again each day, crossing to what the Cairenes call the "triangle of horror," embodied in al-'Atabah Square-Ramsis Square-al-Tahrir Square where all economic and administrative activities are centered. Next to the Bank of Cairo

skyscraper, which rises to 28 stories, there is al-Ahram Bank building which is in danger of collapsing on the heads of its workers. Next to the Ministry of Information, there is the radio and television building and next to this one, the Ministry of Interior. But of all these, the building frequented most is the Mujamma building located in the middle of al-Tahrir Square and receiving 100,000 people a day. In front of the premises, Kafka's time mingles with (Andre) Burton's time and with the time of the River of Madness. Hundreds of cars abandoned because their drivers get tired of waiting are seen next to hundreds of passing cars that bump human bodies and drive traffic police away from the scene and next to hundreds of donkey-drawn carts. Here, the voices of street petition writers mingle with the voices of cumcumber vendors, with the "shrieks" of children and with the braying of donkeys, and the square seems to reflect a real picture of a surrealistic world.

There are traffic lights in Cairo and they are distributed in an organized manner. Like traffic lights in all parts of the world, they turn green and red. But who observes traffic lights here? Madmen and foreigners, like me. Should one respect the red light and stop, the cars behind him will either push him or start blowing their horns, turning the entire city into noise? By the way, Cairo's noise was the subject of a study conducted in 1974 by Dr 'Ali al-Mufti, an ex-dean of 'Ayn Shams School of Medicine, who concluded that continuation of the noise at the level then prevalent in the city poses the danger of deafness to its population.

The problem of traffic jams began with the growth and swelling of the city in the 1960's. These jams were one of the countless concerns of the late President Jamal 'Abd-al-Nasir. At the time, the idea of building the Cairo metro was projected but there was no possibility of implementing it because of the war and of the war of steadfastness and attrition and then because of the open-door economy which led to a real flaw in Egypt's structure. To put it briefly, the project did not see the light until the beginning of 1982.

But in the city of problems, the metro, or the metro project, has turned into a problem. Cairo's population blames the traffic jams, the holes and the eruption of pipes on the French who started the excavations for the metro and then procrastinated in implementing it. Is it true that Cairo's problems have come as a result of the French, or have the French been saddled with problems because of Cairo's metro?

A French expert working on the Cairo metro told me: it is true that the excavations cause a traffic crisis in Cairo. But what can we do? We began the project in 1982 and were then compelled to stop because of disagreement among Egyptian officials over implementation. When the disagreement was resolved and the decision was made in favor of continuing the project, we asked the authorities to supply us with Cairo's underground maps so that we would not hit the sewers, water networks and telephone lines. We were supplied with old maps to which many of the new extensions had not been added, such as the army telephone line extensions, for example. So what was the result? We hit the sewers, the water extensions and the telephone lines during the excavation and we were compelled to repair what we had damaged, with the metro costs thus rising by 110-300 percent. This was not the ultimate catastrophe. At the

outset, the agreement was to build a single line linking al-Marj with Hulwan. This meant that the metro stations would be simple. Halfway through the work, the officials changed their mind and decided to build three lines, with the simple stations thus turning to line-shift stations and with the work volume increased by 40 percent.

I asked the French expert if Cairo's metro will really solve the traffic jams and his answer came in figures and questions, saying: "Cairo's metro, which is supposed to be completed in 1987, can transport an average of 60,000 riders an hour and eliminate the need for 8,000 buses. But how significant is this in a city whose population grows by 350,000 people a year, without there being any hope of stemming this growth?

Now, far from the jams and the experts, where is the other Cairo which we all love: the Cairo of al-Mu'izz, of literature, of the movies, the arts and the mosques in the magnificent Islamic architectural style?

It is well known that of all the Arab and Islamic cities, Cairo combines in its ancient architecture the arts of military, religious and civilian architecture. It contains forts, palaces, mosques, religious schools, shrines and Andalusian-style houses.

This other Cairo is threatened with the danger of extinction and disappearance.

There are 8,000 Islamic historical sites that need repair. These thousands of mosques are led by al-Azhar which has always had a very special place in the hearts of Muslims. But neither individual resources nor the resources of the state, if the state wished to act, presently permit the rapid achievement of this objective of repairing the mosques. Therefore, there has to be an Arab-Islamic campaign to save these historical sites, each of which means a lot to us (mosques, religious schools, libraries, historical quarters and so forth).

If the lack of resources does not now permit saving these historical sites, then ill will and radicalism have played their part in defacing and erasing other historical sites.

Where is the opera house?

Where is al-Jawharah Palace?

The opera house was burnt down in 1971 in President al-Sadat's days. Similarly, part of al-Jawharah Palace was also burnt and all the carpets and works of art it contained were looted. The opera house premises have not been restored. In its place rises an eight-floor American-style car park facing the statue of Ibrahim Pasha, as if telling him: "Eat your heart out. The modernization of Egypt for which you struggled has been devoured by fire."

The same goes for al-Jawharah Palace which, according to the ignorant guide who has employed himself to show the tourists around, was destroyed by an electric short. This is some of the news of the Cairo we love and its other news items are numerous. But I cannot conclude this article without speaking of

al-Rifa'i Mosque which is considered almost a shrine by many Egyptians and a unique work of architectural art. To reach the mosque, one has to cross a river of overflowing sewers and watch the potholes and rocks dumped in the road next to piles of garbage. But the venture is worthwhile when one learns that this mosque contains the grave of King Faruq who was dethroned by his people's revolution in 1952, as it contains the grave of the shah who was also dethroned by his people's revolution, even though this revolution has reached its present state.

The shah's tomb is officially closed for fear of its being blown up by radicals. But it is always opened for the curious like me, for some aristocratic Iranian families and for Farah Diba and her children.

Thus, the visitor gets the opportunity to see the final resting place of the man who spent his life smuggling millions of dollars in to Swiss banks. The site is no longer than the shah's height and the tomb is made of marble, which ex-Empress Diba was careful to bring from Italy. But this fact changes nothing. In front of the shah's tomb, the Egyptian guide who has employed himself to explain the mosque's history stands silent. Even though this guide is willing for a pound or two to recount the history of Khedive Isma'il's tomb or the story of the transfer of Faruq's body in the days of al-Sadat, he stands silent before the shah's grave because the matter does not concern him. The presence of the shah alive was imposed on him and his presence dead is also imposed on him.

I looked for Cairo for a long time but did not find the Cairo of my memory. I looked for the Cairo of writers, artists, journalists and technical and technological cadres and found that even these have been infected with the fever of change. Many of them have abandoned Cairo for the oil countries in search of El Dorado. Those who have settled in Cairo carry all of the world's concerns on their shoulders. The gravest of these concerns is the exalating fever of religious radicalism that has touched all aspects and manifestations of life and which has been transmitted to and become the main preoccupation of the press.

Before concluding this talk about Cairo, it must be noted that the oil fever which attracted cadres and technicians in the direction of the Gulf and Saudi Arabia has devoided Egypt of its technicians. It is true that these technicians bring Egypt \$4 billion a year in hard currency but their absence from their country is turning the situation into a tragedy. There are few working lifts because there is nobody to repair them. Without exception, there isn't in Cairo a single faucet that is not out of order or broken. What is more, there isn't a single toilet functioning normally. If impatience compels you to ask why, the answer comes readily: all have gone to the oil countries and have not returned.

These are some of Cairo's problems. But there are many, many other problems.

Cairo has changed a lot and here I am daily touring the streets of a city I do not know. It contains some of the features of yesterday's Cairo and many of the features of San Francisco, New York or Calcutta where all kinds of architecture, patterns of life, classes, goods and prices coexist.

I yearn for yesterday's Cairo, and let it be the Cairo of yesterday despite dreams of the future.

EGYPT

ISSUE OF PARLIAMENTARY IMMUNITY DISCUSSED

Cairo AL-SIYASI in Arabic 14 Jul 85 p 4

[Commentary by Faruq Abu-al-'Ala: "Be Careful of Incident!"]

[Text] In front of me is the text of a wire from the 45 opposition members who objected to removing immunity from Deputy Mustafa Shardi, and the text of their public statement.

My observations on the wire and statement are as follows:

It may be that removing immunity from a Wafd deputy did not have the slightest connection with the president's meeting with the deputies and members of the People's Assembly and the Shura council and with the party leaders, or it may be that the two matters were linked. In any case, there is no logic in it. When the invitation was announced by Dr Rif'at al-Mahjub, president of the assembly, he said that announcement of the invitation was not a "personal" matter so much as a duty of the position.

Lack of party commitment, in any party whatever and according to domestic and international experience, is considered a political shortcoming and is bad for democracy, for party chaos can destroy democracy and the parties themselves. Therefore Fu'ad Siraj-al-Din, head of the Wafd Party, acted within the framework of duty when he submitted his resignation, since there is a commitment between the party leadership and its members in non-ideological issues.

Removing immunity from any deputy is within the framework of the sovereignty of the law, and all must want it. However, there is a point to note in the matter of the Wafd deputy. In a previous session, the deputies of the majority party had expressed a position from which it was understood that they stood with the opposition against removing immunity from their colleague. In the last session, we saw how the position changed when they voted this time to remove immunity! These contradictions left many people bewildered, confused and suspicious!

Exploiting what happened by fanning flames and dissension and "expanding" the matter must give way to the interests of Egypt and the democratic path!

7587

CSO: 4504/44]

EGYPT

COMPLIANCE WITH BAN ON AUTO DECALS PRAISED

Cairo AL-SIYASI in Arabic 14 Jul 85 p 1

[Commentary by Mamduh Rida: "Auto Decals!"]

[Text] What happened last week was not an ordinary occurrence! I am referring to the story of the auto decals.

What is the story?

A short time ago, the Ministry of the Interior announced that the practice of displaying decals on public and private automobiles, which had spread in an unusual way, was against the traffic laws! Owners or drivers of the cars had to remove the decals before a specific date or face penalties. Immediately after this announcement and before the time period set by the Ministry of the Interior had expired, car owners and drivers had complied with the law!

When the appointed day came, all of the cars which you passed in the streets of Cairo and in the governorates also were back to normal, with no decals, pictures, or inflammatory slogans.

Since that day and to the present, the Ministry of the Interior has not resorted to any unusual steps!

What does all of this mean?

Does it mean that car owners, afraid of the monetary and administrative penalties imposed by the traffic law, removed the decals and pictures quickly to avoid the penalties?

No--no, I don't think so!

Yes--I do not believe that fear was behind this compliance with the law. What was the reason, then?

I think that what happened sheds light on a group of facts. It reveals, first, that the Egyptian people, although they adhere to and are committed to religious values, reject religious fanaticism.

It reveals, second, that the Egyptian people, since the dangers of irresponsibility or mania in the name of religion have become clear, refuse to permit religion to be turned into a weapon for terrorism.

Third, it reveals the conviction of the Egyptian people that their government's decision, in this matter in particular and based on their available information and evidence, is in keeping with their higher interest which cannot and must not be subject to any agitation.

Finally, it reveals the depth of this people's civilization, for civilized people always abide by the customs of society and do not try to go beyond them or resort to underhanded methods. Commitment to the law means commitment to the traditions and values of society.

However, in spite of the pleasant outcome of this story, a question remains which requires a definite and convincing answer!

Who was behind the novelty of the religious decals?

Who was behind their printing and widescale distribution?

Who encouraged the fad of buying them?

Who sometimes put some on cars in the middle of the night, without the knowledge of the cars' owners?

Which Islamic or Christian men of religion have questionable intentions?

And who circulated the rumor which was spread throughout the past 3 months that any car whose owner did not display his religious identity would be set on fire or destroyed?

The Egyptian people, who always confirm their strength of character and their civilized way of life, have the right to know!

7587

CSO: 4504/441

TUNIS IA

HUMAN RIGHTS LEADER URGES CHARTER FOR LTDH

Tunis REALITES in French 2 Aug 85 pp 10,11

[Interview with Khemais Chammari, Secretary-General of the Tunisian League for Human Rights; interviewer's name, and date and place of interview not given]

[Text] "Beyond the dubiously motivated cabal that is forming against the league, it is vital to perceive the true scope of the debates and the issues at stake in the 28 July National Council meeting."

[Question] Why is a charter so important now, 8 years after the league was founded?

CHAMMARI: The LTDH was born in a peculiar and difficult political and associative context. Those were the years from 76 to 80, marked by a total lockdown of out institutions and an absolute monopoly in the hands of the single party in power. The league accordingly assigned priority to demands having to do with political repression. Those demands are still valid, but with the evolution that occurred during the eighties and the beginnings of a political opening -- a contradictory and inadequate one, of course, but one which it would be foolish to deny -- the league at long last had a chance to focus more attention on the concerns of citizens and to explore new areas of liberty. At the same time some major guidelines for the struggle for human rights were drawn up and underscored in a more systematic and forceful way than heretofore. The fight against racist behavior patterns was one, but far more important was the debate aimed at freedom of conscience and an end to all brands of fanaticism.

The idea of a charter came of age under these conditions and the debate joined at our second congress over the necessary distinction between Zionism and Judaism served, to a degree, to precipitate matters...

[Question] Why? Wasn't the Universal Declaration of Human Rights enough?

CHAMMARI: Yes and no. Yes, insofar as since its beginnings the league took that declaration by the United Nations General Assembly on 10 December 48 as its credo, inserting it in Article 2 of our statutes. When certain people nowadays get exercised and denounce the alleged distortion of the league's

vocation, taking as a pretext, in the unconvincing accents of fake piety, clauses in the charter that contradict certain religious tabus or dogmas, they do not know -- or pretend not to know -- that from this point of view the text of the Universal Declaration is even more incisive than that of the charter.

Dr Ben Slama, former general secretary of the league, will remind you without the shadow of a doubt that he fought tooth and nail in those days to get the Universal Declaration cited as a reference in the league's statutes.

In actuality, between the reference to a U.N. text in the statutes (which is legally even more important in that the Tunisian government is a signatory to that text), and solemn adherence to a document that raises the issue of struggle for human rights -- there is a great difference for the men and women who joined the league primarily because it was ready to challenge the government on the profoundly humanitarian, universalist, and egalitarian issue of fighting for human rights.

[Question] In your view, then, there is no breach between the charter and Arab-Muslim values?

CHAMMARI: Absolutely. We shall come back shortly to Article 8, the one taken as a pretext by the cabal that in fact began even before the national council was held. Beyond the dubious motivations of that cabal, it is important to grasp the real scope of the debates and the issues at stake in our gathering last Sunday.

Some people protested at the reference to Arab-Muslim values, and they were wrong, but a very large majority voted to keep the reference in.

As we see it, now, this does not stem from an interim or tactical attitude. I am a Tunisian, an Arab, a Muslim (and in faith and religious practice, which are matters of individual conscience, I am sociologically and culturally steeped in Islam), I am a democrat and a socialist.

That hierarchy, read in that order and not the reverse, was crucial to my militant commitment.

On 17 May Regis Debray (who still stands, among us, who have not foolishly jettisoned all our commitments of the sixties, as an intellectual reference) said at a meeting in Dakar on cultural identity: "We must first of all know where our own roots lie if we are to rise to the universal, to enrich it with our difference and make make those of others our own." Citing the intensity of this return to roots, he added: "Here lies naivete, to its right the technocratic Utopias and to its left, the progressives: both are unaware that where there is a maximum of globalism there is a corresponding maximum of ethnocentricity." In conclusion, he said: "The other's listening assumes that one is completely one's self. The more a culture intensifies its singularity, the more readily will it become universal. As Jaures put it, "A little internationalism takes you away from your country: a lot of it brings you back."

But, to come back to the preamble of the charter, I should like to be a bit more specific. We made a reference to three streams that water the battlefield on which we fight for human rights. The first of those streams is "the historic stream made manifest by the liberating principles stemming from the values of our Arab-Muslim civilization."

[Question] That still leaves Article 8, which recognizes a Muslim's right to marry a non-Muslim: that looks these days like a challenge to a good many people. It is true that you opted, insofar as you were yourselves concerned, for a different, less provocative formulation...

CHAMMARI: Let's get this clear. Democracy has its rules and some of our sunshine democrats are going to have to get used to it. I am fighting for an idea and I try to bring my comrades around to my way of thinking. Then comes a vote, and once that happens I must accept the outcome or challenge it according to democratic procedures and not by becoming a rebel. Even if that vote was won by a majority of one voice (24 to 23).

With other friends -- first among them President Zmerli -- we proposed the language that proclaimed the right to marry "in complete freedom, and without restriction or discrimination of any kind."

The text that was adopted proclaims the right to marry "without any restriction as to race or religion."

[Question] Is that language in line with the Universal Declaration?

CHAMMARI: Absolutely, but I should like to remind those who enjoy teaching lessons, who dare to say that by our proposal we are committing an act of perjury in modifying the text of the Universal Declaration, that the motion passed also differs from the United Nations document on two points: There it says "of legal age," whereas the Declaration refers to "marriageable age." There is no mention of rejecting discrimination as to nationality, while there is one in the 1948 Declaration. One would have to be pretty naive to believe that these are mere oversights. Our concern, in any case, in offering our amendment was to avoid language that could serve as a pretext for a cabal against the league, while clearly leaving room for an interpretation consonant with the text of the Universal Declaration. The preamble to the latter, furthermore, states that the principles set forth in it constitute "the common ideal to be achieved (...) while assuring, by means of gradual measures (...) its recognition and application(...). It is this concept of the gradual, phased approach that is, it seems to me, at the heart of our debate.

[Question] The passage of Article 9, on the contrary, sanctions adoption of the amendment you introduced, and there are those who will not fail to castigate you for it today (because you are under critical fire from both sides) charging that you deliberately opted for evasive language.

CHAMMARI: It is true that there we are drawing thunderbolts from both the traditionalist fundamentalists and the anti-clerical extremists. That doesn't worry me a bit.

Article 9 proclaimed in the initial motion "freedom to change religions." We proposed and passed by a majority vote (24 to 15) replacing that language with "freedom to choose one's religion." There again, though, I should like to point out that the text of our charter includes -- may it please the dogmatists who cling to the 1948 text -- something more than that of the Universal Declaration.

I am talking about the right of interpretation (Ijithad), so essential in the eyes of those who think -- and I am one of them) that we have to update the Koranic message to make it relevant to the needs of our time by rediscovering, in the lyrical words of Abdelmajid Charfi, "the deep meaning of Islam that was revealed purely for the happiness of mankind, because, as an expression of divine mercy, it is not in its nature to oppose the progress of humanity."

[Question] There are those who say flatly that your "dialectical skills" reflect your determination to run the MTI, whose activists on the National Council voted with you.

CHAMMARI: I cannot, in my capacity as secretary general of the league, answer your question as plainly as I should like to. I shall do that at another time, and in my capacity as a political activist.

I shall therefore confine myself to two observations:

1. As secretary general and as active member of the league, I was, I am, and I shall go on being an all-out supporter of the consensus that insures a rich and pluralist associative life while remaining a synonym for unanimity, and a sworn enemy of a-priori exclusions and definitive anathemas. We know how they get started, but there is no knowing where they may lead.

I choose my friends on the basis of what they do, and I ask to be judged on the basis of what I do.

2. The important thing, in any event, is that the league keep its hand to the plough. We must lower the fever in the current debate, because there are those who would gladly stoke the flames for purposes they dare not admit to.

Whatever our detractors may think of it, the charter adopted on Sunday confirms, beyond the legitimate debate over Article 8 alone, the continuity of our fight for individual and collective liberties, against outdated and reactionary concepts, against racism and intolerance, against torture and corporal punishment, and, ultimately, for total equality of rights as between men and women.

Contrary to what some people believe -- or profess to believe -- thanks to Article 9, as passed, we can speak out, and with far more vigor than we could a few months ago, against agonizing martyrdom such as Mahmoud Taha suffered when he was hideously tortured in Sudan for asserting his right to an interpretation of Islam which Nimeiry likened to an act of heresy and apostasy.

Should such a heinous crime be repeated, our league would publicly denounce it, citing the Universal Declaration and our own charter, but also -- with all deference to the authors of learned declarations that have recently been appearing -- out of fealty to the values of tolerance, of justice, and of liberty of which our Arab-Muslim civilization provides many an eloquent illustration.

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LEBANON

SHAYKH SA'ID SHA'BAN ADVOCATES MILITANT ISLAM

Beirut AL-NAHAR AL-'ARABI WA AL-DUWALI in Arabic 21 Jul 85 pp 14-17

[Interview with Shaykh Sa'id Sha'ban, commander of the Islamic Unification Movement, by Jubran Tuwayni, Hashim Qasim, and Zakariya Hammud: "Pluralism Is the Sickness, I Am for the Rule of Islam in Lebanon"; Tripoli, 9 July]

[Text] The passage from West to East Beirut and thence to Tripoli, Lebanon's second capital, and the crossing of about 70 different roadblocks gave us the feeling of confronting a dismembered country, a feeling of moving between parts of a single world split by diverse and divergent political and military situations and by the roadblocks created by over 10 years of war.

The distance between Beirut and Tripoli epitomizes the Lebanese problem, just as does the distance between Beirut and al-Biq'a' or the South. The problem is the same, though the forms are different.

In spite of the difficulty of movement and travel, and in spite of justified or unjustified warnings, we were determined to interview the commander of the Islamic Unification Movement, the shaykh who has held the reins of events in the second capital, especially in the last 3 years. Learning the opinion and ideas of Shaykh Sa'id Sha'ban will throw light on a powerful and influential political current.

On Tuesday, 8 July, Shaykh Sa'id excused himself from meeting us on the ground that he had not slept all night due to the battles taking place in the city and on the ground that he was busy holding meetings with prominent figures in the city. However, one of the officials of the Islamic Unification Movement justified his excusing himself on the basis that the magazine AL-NAHAR AL-'ARABI WA AL-DUWALI "provokes" and "is not fair." After discussion, we agreed on an appointment for the following day.

On Wednesday, we made the same trip from West to East Beirut and thence to Tripoli, passing 70 roadblocks. We arrived an hour early. After 2 hours of waiting, we were surprised to be told that the shaykh "cannot meet you" due to "the terrible night" that Tripoli had lived through, one in which it had experienced shelling and destruction, with scores of casualties and wounded.

What was said was honest and true, for the city streets were utterly deserted, the shops locked, and everyone in a state of confusion, fear and dismay.

"And the appointment we were given?" we asked.

Answers were repeated, all of them pointing to a problem with the political line of the magazine and some of its articles. We again insisted. One of the officials advised us to go away for 2 hours; things might be straightened out. However, we remained waiting until 3 pm, at which time the Israeli airforce came and bombed the Palestinian camps. We all went down to the shelter. An official of the Islamic Unification Movement came forward to alert the commander to the danger of the situation. In the shelter I repeated my request to conduct an interview. One of the officials refused, but the shaykh agreed and the matter was settled.

There were many questions. Answers poured forth about the Lebanese and Palestinian problems and their mutual entanglement, about international intervention and Arab weakness and flabbiness, and about "the Islamic awakening capable of responding to and of solving the problems of the Arab and Islamic worlds." Strikingly, Shaykh Sa'id Sha'ban rejected pluralism and democracy.

Here is the text of the conversation:

[Question] Are you known as Shaykh Sa'id Sha'ban?

[Answer] You should know Shaykh Sa'id from his stands. As for what he looks like, he is one of mankind. As for his name, it is one shared by others. As for his residence, it is in an apartment in Tripoli.

[Question] Where were you born?

[Answer] Wherever it was, I was born on the surface of the earth. Does it make any difference whether I was born in one city or another? Everyone knows this question, and you can extract enough information to know where I was born from investigative agencies, from the Phalangist "House of the Future," or from the registry office, where you can get family records telling where grandfather, father and grandson were born.

[Question] Where were you educated?

[Answer] I was educated in Lebanon and in Egypt, at al-Azhar.

[Question] Did you study in Iraq?

[Answer] I taught in Iraq and in Morocco. I taught Arabic, education and pedagogical theory, psychology and history.

[Question] Did you study nonreligious subjects?

[Answer] I teach Arabic, basically. I taught the education course for the diploma in education and pedagogical theory at the Institute for Educational Studies. To prepare myself to teach Arabic, I studied education, pedagogical theory, and psychology, all in teachers' colleges or secondary schools. I studied Islam under my professors and also tried to enlarge my knowledge and culture through serious reading.

[Question] If we were to try to talk about the nature of the fighting that has been going on for some time in Tripoli, how could we describe that fighting?

[Answer] We, for our part, do not want fighting. We want peace for our city and for all Lebanon, because our fighting within Tripoli or within Lebanon works to the advantage of Israel and imperialism. We are a community that must speak with one voice, end its differences, and unite its ranks; for it is confronting a vicious enemy, one that wants to rend it apart into petty confessional states that could be easily absorbed and between which civil strife could be stirred up whenever convenient. We say that those who are kindling the fire of war in Tripoli wish only to bring the city into such a state of weakness and exhaustion as will allow the destroyers to rule the city after it becomes quiet and life returns to normal. Anyone who shells Tripoli or Jabal Muhsin ought to be considered an enemy and an agent of Israel. Whoever he might be, we disown him. We disown anyone who strives to sow strife in the country or to stir up internal conflict. For this reason we do not countenance a situation of disorder and fighting. Most of the centers have stopped, and the front that is burning with rocket fire is only trying to defend itself so as not to fall and so that the houses not be destroyed, women dishonored, and children slaughtered.

[Question] What is the nature of the political struggle that lies behind the military violence?

[Answer] I think it is a Phalangist-Zionist spirit. I cannot explain it as a spirit of brotherhood. The spirit of brotherhood would reject fighting and establish love and brotherhood between us. I say that anyone who fans the flames of fighting wants the Israeli forces to succeed against the Islamic awakening.

[Question] Is there a relation between present events in Tripoli and those in Beirut?

[Answer] We consider every domestic dispute to be one. It all works to the enemy's advantage. I have spoken about the battles in Beirut and have said that the warring forces in Beirut have accomplished everything that Israel and the Phalange were unable to accomplish--and more.

[Question] In your opinion, did the Israeli sweep accomplish all of its goals?

[Answer] The Israeli sweep did not accomplish all of its goals; however, it has now begun to accomplish them. The Israeli sweep was military and did not change our convictions. Quite the opposite: it showed the fragility of the National Movement, the Palestinian organizations, and the Arab position. The latter stood looking while the national and Palestinian forces retreated before Israel. This is what has hastened the Islamic awakening, an awakening that knows that those who were working in its name were not able to operate on a sound basis. Also, I believe the Islamic awakening is one of the fruits of the defeat of imported ideologies, ideologies that wanted to give the community a non-Islamic shape. They have failed politically, militarily, and ideologically. Hence, after a time when Muslims made room in their lives for things other than Islam, the Islamic awakening has come to take its place on the scene. The Islamic awakening, we believe, has now been countered with war because they do not want Islam to take up its role. Therefore, they find it necessary to stir up factional strife among Muslims to neutralize their role. What is taking place in Beirut, in Lebanon, and especially in the Islamic cities can be considered a counterattack against the Islamic awakening and the Islamic path. Whether the instigators of civil strife want it or not, whether their intentions are good or bad, what they are doing works to Israel's advantage. I do not care about their good intentions; I care about the reality that can be seen and what is accomplished on the ground.

[Question] There is another point of view that pictures what you have called the Islamic awakening as a reaction. That is, it is not the continuation of the Islamic renaissance or of the spiritual and cultural rise of Islam that began in the age of the Prophet. Rather, it is a reaction to the failure of nationalistic, liberal, and western experiments, those in particular that took place in the Arab Middle East, and in the Arab and Islamic world more generally. Those who hold this view believe that the appearance of Islamic movements with programs for political change is a kind of reaction. It is not an action based on a complete cultural program for a harmonious, homogeneous, and powerful society; rather, the Islamic awakening comes in a society that is in a state of upheaval, disintegration, and fragmentation into sectarian and confessional groupings. Those who hold this opinion therefore conclude that the Islamic awakening will in the end fade away or disappear, not succeed. What do you say about this view?

[Answer] I suppose that a "reaction" may be true for some people. Some stands of the ordinary Muslim in the street, who has suffered a great deal, may be a "reaction." One can say this about ordinary people. But the truth is that the Islamic awakening is on the march from the east of the Islamic world to the west. Afghanistan is no reaction. In Egypt there

is a public call for implementation of Islamic law, a call made by scholars, not by ordinary people. In Iran a state has arisen, one which was not a reaction. The Islamic Republic of Iran has become an international reality, one that practices Islamic law in its relations. The Islamic awakening in Lebanon, which has resisted Israel and given so many lives as martyrs, is not a reaction. It is an act of faith flowing out of convictions. The Israeli experiment is an imperialistic experiment whose desire is to destroy and replace Islamic civilization. After a time of bedazzlement by western material culture, Muslims have learned the truth of this. Furthermore, it has become clear to them that western civilization has offered them only poverty and dismemberment, not solutions by means of which they could join the human community. Islam, on the other hand, calls on Muslims to join with other peoples and nations according to ordinances set down in the Koran. If the Islamic awakening were a reaction, it would have ended in failure, not in Egypt's offering hundreds of martyrs and thousands of men imprisoned; nor would an Islamic republic have arisen in Iran to challenge the shah and overthrow the rule of imperialism in Iran; nor would that republic have been able to withstand the insane war against it through all these years of violence and cruelty. If it were merely a matter or reaction, people in Iran might be saying, "Enough wanton bloodshed," and the government would be embarrassed. Instead, we find the people increasing daily in faith and dedication, for the path to liberation is Islam. We could have done what many are doing: go along and go along until we submit. Any of us could have come to terms with those who deal in men and sectarianism, those who traffic in Islam. But we refused to traffic in Islam and confessionism when we announced that Islam is a formula for living together. This is what we stated in Tripoli; and Tripoli, with all its confessional groups, is living without mutual conflict. We announced our sadness over the war in Beirut between confessional groups, and between Palestinians and Lebanese, because we begin with the verse that says, "Surely this community of yours is one community, and I am your Lord; so serve Me." [Koran 21:92] So we are not a reaction; we are a conscious act of faith, knowing its beginning and its end, and knowing the goal for which it works. We do not want armed men to dominate people; we want God to be the lawgiver, so that He may prescribe for men their way of life.

How can I be ruled by a man like myself and by a system established by men like myself, when human societies differ and people differ? We believe that democracy in Lebanon is a lie. What it was was military confessional government that gave a confessional group the right to act when and as it pleased, while other confessional groups were banned even from entering many institutions of the state. I am sometimes asked whether we want to establish an Islamic state. I say that we want God to rule His servants, not that one servant of God should rule the others. We are not slaves or enslavers of men. We servants of God who consider all men brothers. Brothers should be just in their mutual dealings; one should not claim to be another's boss. In Islam, even the offices of imam or caliph are not domination; they stand for the carrying out of the precepts of Islamic law upon caliph and subject alike. If someone in authority violates the commandment of God, we say to him that no creature has the power to disobey the Creator.

[Question] Then you support the establishment of an Islamic republic in Lebanon?

[Answer] I am for the establishment of God's rule over the whole earth.

[Question] Which means the rule of Islam in Lebanon?

[Answer] Call it "the rule of God in all the world," since Lebanon alone is not wide enough for Islam. Islam will accommodate the whole world, since it is God who created all men. It is the Creator's right to set forth the path. It is not the creature's right to set down a path for himself. A creature does not set down a path for himself; the Creator is the one who prescribes a path for him. "Shall He not know who created? And He is the All-subtle, the All-aware." [Koran 67:14]

[Question] In Lebanon there are many religions. If we establish the rule of God in Lebanon, the rule of Islam, what shall we do with the Christians?

[Answer] What did Islam do to the Christians? Ask yourself. And what did the Christians do to the Muslims? If you want to ask, ask. What did the Catholics do in Spain? What did the Maronites do to the Muslims in al-Sharqiyah? And what did Islam do to Christians throughout the world and throughout history? Answer it yourself; you know the answer.

[Question] I want your answer!

[Answer] My answer is the answer of history. History says that Christians have the right to live with Muslims. They have the right that Muslims have and also the duties. This is a matter set down in the Koran and the Sunna. The rules deduced by Islamic jurisprudence support it. Other religions have subdued men by force; Islam never did. History confirms that the Muslims were, and still are, the most merciful of men. While the Crusaders used to destroy and burn, Saladin issued a pardon for Richard after he fell captive and wounded. This supports what many of the enemy said: that history never knew more merciful men than the Arabs--meaning, more merciful than the Muslims. Here is what has happened in Lebanon; yet we have not killed the Christians in Lebanon.

Islam is a divine creation, not a human one. Islam therefore does not recognize that there are people with special privileges. Even the family of the Prophet has no special privileges; rather, it has more duties than others. The punishment for transgression is doubled, just as the reward for a good deed is doubled. It is on this account that we say that we see the fact of multiplicity as necessitating unity of [religious] path, for a plurality of gods would corrupt the earth. If each confession becomes a god set in its niche and worshiped by men, Lebanon will go to ruin--such is the consequence that we see. You believe pluralism is a treatment; we believe it is a sickness. Lebanon's sickness is pluralism. How, then, should Lebanon become reconciled? Should we kill all the confessions, or should we establish one path for all the confessions? The establishment of one path for all the confessions will bring men out of the state of confessionalism, the state of sectarianism, the state of nationalism or patriotism. It will make everybody meet on one path, which is what Islam

did. Islam is a path that removes ideological multiplicity and nationalistic or patriotic multiplicity; for Islam is the formula with the greatest latitude, the formula that is most just, the formula that ends conflict among men. Recognition and acceptance of pluralism and the setting of the many paths of those who differ on one level is a devastating futility that afflicts human societies, especially Lebanese society. Therefore, when we say that Lebanon must be ruled by a path that is nonconfessional and nonnationalistic, one that is divine, it is because a homeland does not secrete a path or way of life. Mecca, for example, encompassed within itself the Prophet and those with him. Did patriotism secrete a system agreeable to both the Prophet and his foes? Patriotism is not philosophy; patriotism is affiliation to a place in which people settle, be it Lebanon or some other place. Is patriotism a formula for life or a philosophy? Is even nationalism a philosophy? Philosophy is whatever treats the problems of man qua man.

Is Islam a Philosophy?

Islam is a religion that gives life a divine explanation. Men call it a philosophy; we call it Islam and a religion: i.e., divine point of view. The Islamic point of view or the divine law considers all mankind as being from one father and one mother. Based on this fact, it is right that they who are of one origin should have one path. The cause of corruption on earth is nonadherence to the one path. It is for this reason that we propose one path for all the confessions: that they may come out of the state of sectarianism, not that they may all be Muslims. It is not that the Muslim confession may have mastery in Lebanon over the Christian confession, but rather that Truth may have mastery over Muslims and Christians. Many of the Muslims are at odds with Islam, for Islam is the religion of whoever believes in it, Arab or non-Arab, Lebanese or Syrian alike. Islam is not the religion of a confessional group; it is God's religion for all mankind. Thus we have said in the past and thus we now say: Let whosoever will accept Islam, he is our brother.

[Question] Then you are calling for people to become Muslims?

[Answer] That is what God has called for. Why do you want to make me author of the call and not want to make God author of the call? I call because God says to me: "Call thou to the way of thy Lord with wisdom and good admonition." [Koran 16:125] Pay attention carefully: I call to what God's messengers called to; I call to the worship of God and to the application of God's path in man's life. Without equivocation, do not try to sign over Islam to Shaykh [Sa'id]. Islam is not the shaykh's property. Do not do this; it is very shameful. The newspapers try to propose questions in order to misrepresent matters and make people think that Shaykh [Sa'id], from his private point of view, has a path toward which he wants to impel people. I believe in Islam only as a path that will unite all mankind under its Creator.

[Question] Does the call for Islamic rule in Lebanon connect with the Islamic revolution in Iran on the basis of its establishment of an Islamic republic?

[Answer] It connects only with God's call. Why do you insist on connection with the Islamic republic? Perhaps people think: If this call is for the sake of Iran, most people will leave Islam, since some people think that Iran proposes something sectarian. Islam, however, is more inclusive than sectarianism. We call not for a meeting with Iran; we call for all of us to meet under God--us, Iraq, Iran, those who are fighting each other. When they meet with God, we shall all meet. We will meet with the Christians when they believe in God's path and God's religion. We will meet with all nations. We do not propose Islam so as to meet with Iran. We propose Islam so as to meet with ourselves, so as to meet with God, and so as to lighten our own and mankind's burden of suffering and misery.

[Question] There is a view that the call for establishment of Islamic rule in Lebanon, given the multiplicity of religions in Lebanon, will mean the establishment of an Islamic canton over against a Christian canton. Will the call for Islamic rule turn out to be a matter of cantons?

[Answer] Did Muhammad establish an Islamic canton? He established a human society. Why do you turn in a vicious circle? We have said that we call for the establishment of a human society. Is a canton wide enough for Islam? Is God's mercy so narrow that it descends only on a canton?

[Question] We take the reality in Lebanon as point of departure.

[Answer] Never mind "the reality." Islam changed the reality of Arabia and the reality of human society. Islam is a path for change: toward what is best, toward the gathering of men under God, not toward their division under numerous idols. Islam smashed the idols that used to separate men in order to gather men under God, not to divide them. Why do you understand the Islamic proposal as a divisive one, when it is a proposal for unification, a proposal that would gather men together, not divide them? It would dignify, not humiliate men. Such, in all simplicity, is Islam. But what can you do with those who see Islam as the religion of a confessional group, not as the religion of God? Perhaps some Muslims have given cause for this when they see Islam from the point of view of a confessional group. Islam, however, has nothing to do with confessionalism, nothing to do with anyone who divides the Muslims, nothing to do with anyone who creates enmity among men. Islam is a path that connects, unites and that gathers--but on a clear path. We therefore say that we are a source of mercy if we are Muslims. If, however, we serve the cause of confessionalism, we shall become a source of misfortune. God forbid that we should become a misfortune to our people by advocating confessionalism instead of Islam. If the Christians understood the true nature of Islam or were fair, they would become Muslim with us. Perhaps you say to me that I am calling the Christians to Islam. Indeed, I am calling all humanity to Islam. Muhammad, the son of 'Abdallah, called the whole world to Islam. Perhaps the magazine AL-NAHAR-AL-'ARABI WA AL-DUWALI will become angry tomorrow and say that the shaykh wants the Christians to become Muslims. I have become Muslim, and I would like all men to become Muslim with me. When I see a sound path, I call men to it and am a peacemaker. If I call men to what I dislike, I do not love them; I love them when I call them to what I like. When I call on you to eat good food

with me, is it not because I like you? An enemy sets out poison for his foe, but I want the antidote for everyone. Please interpret this carefully. We [divine] guidance for all men, including the Christians, whether they like it or dislike it. Our call is to God, not to confessionalism.

[Question] You have commented on patriotism, considering it a passing and unprofitable thing. There is an opinion that holds the complete reverse of this.

[Answer] Patriotism is relationship to place. I ask you, for God's sake, whether Lebanon has united the Lebanese. Is Lebanon a path? Is place a path? A place contains the evildoer and the righteous, the criminal and the peacemaker. Question: Why does Lebanon not become a way? Answer: Because the earth does not secrete a way. Matter is silent. Do idols establish a way of life? The one who establishes the path, is it not God the Creator, who created existence, ordered it all, and who desired to order mankind, even as He ordered the heavens and the cycle of plants and rain?

[Question] Do you then reject a belief in the idea of patriotism?

[Answer] Look at this question. Is there an idea that can be called patriotism? I deny that there is an idea called patriotism, since a single homeland does not bring forth men of one kind. Even the earth does not produce plants of one kind; it produces thorns as well as grapes.

[Question] It produces both.

[Answer] How, then, do you want the earth to produce one path? The earth produces everything. It produces pleasant food and bitter, colocynth as well as watermelon. So the earth is not a path.

[Question] Are there not ideas that conflict with and contradict what you are saying?

[Answer] Leave those ideas alone. I ask you not to believe them.

[Question] Aren't there views opposed to yours?

[Answer] Do you believe in nationalism, in the sense that the land gives rise to the path by which one lives?

[Question] Doesn't the land give rise to a way of life?

[Answer] A homeland is land, and land does not give rise to or put forth a way of life. A land may at one time be inhabited by believers; then a day may come when evildoers inhabit it. Isn't it as fit to be home to beasts as to believers? A land is not a way of life; a land is a homeland, a place to live.

[Question] What about pan-Arabism, which some consider a solution for current problems?

[Answer] Pan-Arabism is like the homeland. It is the language the Prophet knew. Pan-Arabism is a language, Arabic. If you want to know it as Professor Sati' al-Husari did, it is history, geography, feelings--and what else?

[Question] I don't know. (By my answer I intended not to get into an argument.)

[Answer] You don't know! Then if you don't know what pan-Arabism is, how do you believe in it? If it is a language, Abu Bakr [the first caliph] and Abu Lahab [a bitter enemy of Muhammad] both spoke it. Did language unite them? Not at all! If pan-Arabism is land, the same land held Abu Bakr and Abu Lahab. If it is history, history contains both Abu Bakr and Abu Lahab. If it is feelings, Abu Bakr's feelings were benevolent, Abu Lahab's malevolent. Can nationalism secrete a way of life? If Islam considers nationalism and belief in homeland illegitimate, it is because they are sterile.

[Question] What is your view of the "legitimate" government of Lebanon?

[Answer] In our view, there is either pagan rule or Islamic rule. Paganism is everything other than Islam. Wasn't [the tyrant] Pharaoh a "legitimate" ruler? Israel has a "legitimate" government, doesn't it? And the Phalange, Amin al-Jumayyil, is a "legitimate" ruler. For our part, we believe that legitimacy rests upon the law of God or on what proceeds from God's law. All the rest is illegitimate, because, as God says, "To every one of you We have appointed a right way and an open road." [Koran 5:48] Our way is not the way of unbelief. A "legitimate" government that rules men by whim, by the opinion of Pharaoh the Individual or by the opinion of Pharaoh the Majority is Pharaonic [tyranny]. Rule of the majority over the minority, or of the minority over the majority, is un-Islamic. Islam is God's rule over all, leaders and led. The "legitimate" government in our country applies the so-called democratic system, i.e., the opinion of the majority. Islam, on the other hand, does not believe in the opinion of the majority, since the majority may be evildoers. You know that most men today are far from acting justly. If 40 criminals band together today to kill a man, does their rule become democracy and legitimate government? If America conspires to commit genocide, plunder the wealth of nations, and level cities, does it become legitimate? Legitimate government is whatever begins from God's law. Everything that begins with something other than God is tyranny, i.e., self-exaltation over men. We therefore do not recognize a "legitimate" government that does not owe allegiance and submit to God. Had the prophet, Muhammad son of 'Abdallah, made an experiment in Mecca and begun by saying, "O people, let whoever wishes worship God; and let whoever wishes worship the idol Hubal," who would have won? Hubal, of course! Had Pharaoh said to Moses, "Wait until we poll the people: if the majority are for Moses, we will follow Moses; if they are for Pharaoh, we will follow Pharaoh," would the proposal have been just or legitimate? Of course, Pharaoh would win and get all the votes, since he has the money, and the weapons, and the power in the land.

Thus the rule of tyrants and oppressors comes to pass. The rule to which we are subject today in Lebanon and elsewhere is Pharaonic rule, government by ruling cliques, even if they gain power through the majority, since the majority may be evildoers.

[Question] There are ideas and proposals for the establishment of a federal state or a system of cantons. What is your opinion?

[Answer] We believe all of it is a waste of time and will not solve Lebanon's problem. We believe in the unification of the earth and of the servants of God. The earth and people are under God. Every division in the community serves God's enemies: the Jews and those who support them.

[Question] What is your opinion about the decisions of the Islamic meeting in Damascus?

[Answer] I say that there is nothing wrong with anything that alleviates the trouble in Lebanon. It is good if the decisions stop the collapse, but I do not think it will be a permanent solution. It is a temporary solution; the fundamental solution is that men place themselves under God's rule in all their affairs. I say this sincerely, even though it will not please most people. If you heed most people, they will lead you astray from the way of God. I want everyone to understand that the solution does not lie in our hands; it lies in what God has revealed to His prophets and messengers. This is our conviction and our faith. If others believe something else, that is their concern. "Say: 'The truth is from your Lord; so let whosoever will believe, and let whosoever will disbelieve.'" [Koran 18:29]

[Question] The Palestinian issue is one that concerns everyone in the world. Who represents this issue now?

[Answer] All Muslims must represent it. Everyone who has espoused the issue up to now has not been faithful to it. No one has been faithful to it.

[Question] And the factions on the Lebanese scene?

[Answer] All of them traffic in the Palestinian issue. I think that Muslims should first come together under God; then the Palestinian issue will be solved very naturally, perhaps without a battle, since Israel will lose the meaning of its existence the moment the nation that surrounds it comes together under God. You know that the Holy War is a religious duty. Israel will dismantle what it has built in Tel Aviv and will depart.

[Question] Again I ask who represents the Palestinian people and who will liberate Palestine?

[Answer] Palestine will be liberated only through Islam, as it was liberated through Islam by Salah-al-Din, and as the Caliph 'Umar conquered through Islam.

[Question] There is an opinion proposing the internationalization of the Lebanese problem. Some quarters advocate internationalization of the Lebanese problem and the sending of international forces to the South, the airport, the refugee camps, and elsewhere.

[Answer] Lord! Our sickness comes from foreign powers and internationalization. Our problem is that if we get into difficulties when the major powers are far from us, what will happen if they descend on Lebanon? The Multi-national Force did arrive in Lebanon--and what was the result? Did it solve the problem? Or did the problem become more complicated? If foreign countries are the sickness, how do you want to make the sickness go away by means of another sickness? The foreign powers are the ones who carry the ideology of imperialism. Which countries want to solve the Lebanese problem? The countries with ambitions in the Middle East are the countries that support Israel, recognize its existence and "secure borders" at the expense of the Palestinian people; they are the countries that manufacture antipersonnel bombs, that plunder the wealth of peoples and nations, that prevent other peoples from advancing, so that they may continue to have consumer markets for their industrial products. Which countries do you want to come into Lebanon? When we cannot treat the patient, should we do him in? Leaving him sick and suffering is better than killing him. The entry of foreign powers would be to do away with Lebanon's existence, with the independence of the region--even with its imagined and pro-forma independence, since real independence does not exist.

[Question] A question about the factional warfare you referred to going on in Tripoli, Beirut and Sidon: Is the purpose of these side wars to give the coup de grace to Lebanon?

[Answer] The coup de grace to the Muslims, in the first instance! If the Muslims in Lebanon are ruined, Lebanon will not remain, since the Muslims form the overwhelming majority in Lebanon. Furthermore, Lebanon is part of its environment. If the Muslims go, it will become an Israeli situation: a racist homeland for the Maronite sect. That is something we all have to beware of. We therefore believe that the fighting in the Islamic cities is for the purpose of weakening, exhausting, and dominating the Muslims after the Islamic awakening which frightens everyone. Imperialism has therefore assigned its agents to stir up strife between the religions and among the Muslim factions and has sent people to kindle and fan the flames of factional strife within the Islamic ranks. To a great extent imperialism has been able to succeed because of the ignorance of the Islamic base that responded to the confessional and sectarian impetus. We therefore have to work hard to raise the consciousness of the Islamic base so that it becomes aware of the seriousness of the conspiracy. It is not right for the Muslim in the street to remain blind and superficial, responsive to the reactions that take place in his area. Otherwise, the man in the street will accomplish the enemy's goal for him, the weakening of Islamic ranks in our country and in all the Islamic countries in which a confessional or sectarian struggle is going on--as happens from time to time in Pakistan and in other Islamic countries.

[Question] What would you like to tell the magazine AL-NAHAR AL-'ARABI
WA AL-DUWALI and its readers?

[Answer] I want to say to everyone what God has said: "Mankind, fear
your Lord." [Koran 4:1]

12937
CSO; 4404/444

PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF YEMEN

MINISTER DISCUSSES HOUSING POLICIES, PROJECTS

Sanaa AL-AMAL in Arabic 21 Jul 85 p 4

/Interview with Muhammad Sa'id 'Abdallah, minister of housing: "Muhsin, Minister of Housing in Southern Part of Homeland, to AL-AMAL: Housing Law Did Not Come From Void and Was Not Result of Coincidence"/

/Text/ Muhsin is the nom de guerre of Muhammad Sa'id 'Abdallah, the current minister of housing in the southern part of the homeland. As Muhsin the fedayeen was skillful in the war and an experienced fighter against the British colonist, Muhsin the minister is a first-class leader who enjoys a patriotic feeling in performing any task entrusted to him. This is why the man is now as creative as a minister as he was in the national liberation war.

Muhsin's ability to understand and to persuade insofar as housing issues are concerned has earned him special popularity. Among those who see him to get housing, one cannot find anybody who complains of the minister. The least they say about him is that he "does not flatter" and is "against favoritism."

When Muhsin was a fedayeen, his guide was the compass of his country's independence, freedom and dignity. Now he is guided by the compass of the citizen's and society's interest. He exerts extraordinary efforts to overcome the difficulties that one encounters in the march of progress. AL-AMAL conducted the following interview with brother Muhammad Sa'id 'Abdallah--Muhsin--on the issues of houses and housing in the southern part of the homeland.

/Question/ Since the issuance of the housing nationalization law on 5 August 1972 until the present, how far has the experiment advanced and have there been any change, modification or correction measures?

/Answer/ The housing issue has been close to my interest for a long time even though I was far from the positions of direct responsibility for this issue. This is because the issue, by its nature, is a part of the revolutionary experience we have undergone in this part of the Yemeni homeland since the beginning of this issue. But since I came to the Ministry of Housing as a minister entrusted by our party with this difficult task, I have been able to find out the dimensions of this issue directly and it has become my daily concern. Therefore, you will excuse me if we can only review generally the housing conditions over a period of 13 years, specifically since the issuance of

housing law No 32 of 1972, and review what the previous conditions were, what the present conditions are and what we aspire to achieve in the future in light of the goals sought in the interest of the broadest masses of our working people. These masses have a real interest in the revolution that is tied to their hopes and aspirations. They are simultaneously the means and the end of the ongoing revolutionary process in our country and they are truly the means to create and achieve material abundance in our country. At the same time, the objective of all the economic, social, cultural and political steps in our country is to enable the Yemeni citizen to enjoy a life befitting his humanity and rising to the level of the enormous sacrifices that he has offered and made in the thick of the revolutionary struggle in order that he may live in a just, united, progressive and prosperous society.

This is why the law stipulates that proper, sanitary housing is a right to which the citizen is entitled. This means that the state must build houses and supply them to the citizens because this is one of the necessities of life.

We do not find it embarrassing to say that solving our country's housing issue in a sound manner will constitute a criterion of the priorities of our social system in which the cause of man takes top priority among the social tasks of our progressive system and of our leading party. In implementing this realization, the successive development plans have never lacked varied housing projects and the economic and social development plans have never neglected the housing sector. Rather, the attention and importance given to this sector have been growing steadily. The housing share in the first 5-year development plan amounted to 2 million dinars, which rose to 86 million dinars in the second 5-year plan.

During the two plans, a total of 8,083 houses were built in all parts of the republic, as demonstrated by the following chart:

<u>Governorate</u>	<u>First 5-year Plan</u>	<u>Second 5-year Plan</u>
Aden	1,406	4,396
Lahij	211	374
Abyan	340	210
Shabwah	180	65
Hadhramaut	323	459
Al-Mahrah	83	136
Grand Total	2,443	5,640

Moreover, a number of government agencies build houses for their employees. Thus, the severity of the housing problem has been somewhat alleviated.

We are also exerting ceaseless efforts to confine the problem in order to achieve a gradual and realistic solution for it. However, honest responsibility requires us to state and point out that scientific and logical solutions for social problems can be achieved only through tackling soundly and rationally all the aspects, causes and factors of these problems. At the same time, every experiment has, as you well know, its negative aspects. Housing law No 32 of 1972 has suffered from some negative features. However, they are negative features emanating from the vast dimensions of the problem with which the law

deals. All know that when the law was implemented, its execution relied on a popular agency taking the form of committees. This produced some negative features which were tackled and corrected immediately upon being discovered.

/Question/ Under the canopy of the housing law and the government laws, is anybody who wishes to build a private house permitted to do so and how are expatriates treated?

/Answer/ Housing law No 32 of 1972 is fully aware of the citizen's role in tackling the housing problem. Consequently, Art 11 of the law states that any citizen wishing to build a private house must apply for a plot of land and that the Ministry of Housing shall provide him with all the facilities at a nominal cost in order to encourage him.

Moreover, Art 351 of the civilian law dictates that the state offer whoever wishes to build a house a plot of land for his permanent use. This issue and the issue of the treatment of expatriates in this respect have enjoyed the attention of the party, embodied in its Central Committee. The ministry has issued numerous decrees allocating for the expatriates tracts of land in the capital and in the governorates at nominal prices so as to enable them to build their own houses and housing complexes.

In implementing these decrees, the ministry supplies the citizens, including expatriates, with construction lands at nominal prices ranging from 350-600 fils per square meter. This nominal price is nothing but proof of the state's concern for the citizen, whether living at home or abroad. The ministry also supplies Yemeni citizens with facilities, keeping in mind that the land is granted for an unlimited period as a social service. These measures have actually encouraged the Yemeni citizens who have built thousands of private homes. The law guarantees the ownership of these homes for the individual building the house and for his family. The state has also advanced loans through the National Yemeni Bank to help citizens build private homes or improve their existing homes.

/Question/ How has the housing nationalization law been applied to the rural areas?

/Answer/ Fundamentally, the law seeks to prevent man's exploitation of fellow man, to melt the natural differences and to deal with the housing problem, whose impact has been mainly, sharply and increasingly confined to the capital in a fundamental manner.

Housing law No 32 of 1972 is aimed basically against the real estate ownership system which was prevalent prior to the law and it seeks to solve the housing crisis which is largely and seriously confined to the capital. It is a general law that includes all of the republic's governorates without exception. In this regard, the Ministry of Housing has been entrusted with the task of following up on the housing issues in a governorate with the governorate's local peoples council.

/Question/ AL-AMAL has learned that there are new housing projects founded on the principle of sale to the citizens. How true is this, what are the new housing projects, what are the conditions for acquiring a house and how can one acquire one?

/Answer/ Since the construction of the first housing project by the ministry, the system of occupation has been founded on the principle of sale to the citizens in accordance with law No 20 of 1976. This is the constant policy adopted by the ministry since that time. It is a successful policy, as proven by the experience undergone by the Ministry of Housing so far, despite some gaps and negative features.

As for new projects, there will of course be new projects according to the resources that will still be available to us after the completion of the martyr 'Abd-al-'Aziz 'Abd-al-Wali complex, which contains 852 units. As we have already said, the housing issue cannot be dropped from or neglected in our country's social development plans because this issue involves a firm social task. We are seeking to obtain financing for the new housing projects and to allocate the appropriations for these projects in the 1986-90 development plan.

The ministry has exerted efforts to establish the tendencies and indicators of its plan for the new housing projects. Therefore, we hope to succeed in solving this problem and hope that the ministry's plan will receive attention, as has happened with the second plan. The conditions for acquiring housing have not yet been established in accordance with firm procedures that apply to all the governorates. However, it has been customary to establish the conditions for the method of distribution.

But we have in the Ministry of Housing the tendency to develop the general conditions that form the basis for a fair distribution of houses, conditions such as priority in registration, current housing conditions and social and professional conditions.

/Question/ One of the problems faced by the Ministry of Housing is the problem of "low" rent, which is considered the lowest in the world, keeping in mind that an apartment is rented at 7-10 dinars a month or the equivalent of 140-200 riyals. Moreover, the ministry shoulders the repair costs, as is well known. How do you reconcile the fabulously low rent with the costs of repair and maintenance?

/Answer/ Permit me to correct the figures cited in your question. The rent for a top-quality apartment on the main street does not exceed 7 dinars a month. Permit me also to remind you that the state has turned the ownership of more than 11,000 houses over to their occupants free of charge and that the rent for these houses was less than 1 dinar a month.

You are perhaps aware that the rent for an apartment in Mudarram Street in al-Mu'alla ranges from 3-5.5 dinars a month.

As to how we reconcile the ministry's duties in repairing and maintaining the houses with the low rent rates, this is attributable mainly to the fact that the state subsidizes housing very heavily.

The figures are listed in the ministry's budget and there are allocations for repairs.

Art 455 of the civilian law requires the Ministry of Housing to undertake fundamental and essential repairs in order that the housing may continue to be habitable.

This is why the state shoulders heavy expenses in this regard. Let us allow the figures to speak for themselves because they are the best evidence and proof of what we say:

A sum of 149,053 dinars was allocated in 1981, 950,530 in 1982, 608,210 in 1983, 683,628 in 1984 and 1,474,582 in 1985.

We do not deal here with the issue of housing on the basis of cost but consider housing a social service like the health and educational services.

This, fundamentally, reflects the image of our social system in this part of the Yemeni homeland and demonstrates the benefits of this system.

8494

CSO: 4404/458

PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF YEMEN

AGRICULTURAL COORDINATION BETWEEN NORTH, SOUTH NOTED

Sanaa AL-AMAL in Arabic 28 Jul 85 p 4

/Interview with Muhammad Sulayman Nasir, minister of agriculture: "Minister of Agriculture in Southern Part of Homeland to AL-AMAL: We Have Taken Long Strides in Sphere of Cooperation, Coordination and Exchange of Expertise and Data"/

/Text Brother Muhammad Sulayman Nasir, Central Committee candidate member and minister of agriculture in the southern part of the homeland, led the southern side of the Joint Agricultural Committee, which held its third session in Sanaa, the capital.

AL-AMAL interviewed the brother minister on the unity agreements produced by the committee. The interview is comprehensive and deals with agriculture and fish resources. The minister explained numerous issues which will be among the committee's future tasks.

/Question What are the issues discussed in this session and have new agreements been concluded in light of the previous meetings?

/Answer The fact is that our meeting in Sanaa to discuss agricultural and fishing issues in light of the Yemeni Council's resolutions and of the previous sessions of the ministerial and technical committees has been very beneficial. We discussed the issues of coordination between us and our brothers in the Ministry of Agriculture and Fish Resources in the northern part of the homeland.

The Agriculture and Fish Resources Committee has taken a long stride in the spheres of coordination and of the exchange of expertise, data, experiments, seeds and seedlings in the various agricultural sectors. The committee also discussed numerous details concerning coordination in the sphere of fish resources in both parts of the homeland.

We are in agreement with the brothers in the northern part on setting up joint vineyard, banana and potato projects and we are proceeding in accordance with certain steps to prepare the necessary studies and determine the suitable areas in both parts of the homeland. The establishment of these projects requires funds and we are exerting efforts to obtain aid from some international programs, in addition to the contributions of both parts.

We have coordinated in the sphere of exchanging fruit seedlings and thousands of seedlings have in fact been exchanged by the two sides. The coming phase will witness a greater exchange. Moreover, there are fruits in the south which the north needs to cultivate and there are fruits here which we need to cultivate in the south. This work is going on well and will continue.

We also agreed to combat plant pests and livestock diseases. A committee of specialists from both parts has been formed to provide the data and establish the controls needed to implement the measures concerning such diseases. It has also been agreed to unify certain agricultural laws, such as the agricultural quarantine law which has been issued in the north and the south. We agreed that this law will include unified articles so that it may form a single law for both parts. We also exchange data with the brothers in the northern part of the homeland there are a number of technicians from the south being trained in the north and a number of northern brothers being trained in the south.

At this session, it was agreed to send a number of instructors in the sphere of fish resources to the south. They will also send us a number of instructors on fishing boat piloting and maintenance. It was also agreed in this meeting to try fiberglass boats and the southern part will supply two or three boats with their crews to operate in the waters of the northern part of the homeland. A subcommittee for fishing resources has been formed to follow up on the various aspects of coordination in this sphere.

Both parts are displaying a sincere response to receiving agricultural specialists, technicians and experts and to increasing the exchange volume between the north and the south. Several visits for the exchange of expertise will take place in the coming period. We are also working to implement a number of projects to supply potato seeds for both parts.

/Question/ What are your impressions of the visits you have made to a number of farms and to Ma'rib Governorate, especially since you have witnessed the ongoing work to rebuild the dam?

/Answer/ The fact is that the brothers in the northern part of the homeland arranged for us a useful program through which we have been able to familiarize ourselves with the activity of the Ministry of Agriculture in the production of seedlings and with the ministry's general activity. We have been able to familiarize ourselves with the ongoing effort to rebuild Ma'rib Dam. We have notice that great work is going on there and that the Yemeni farmers are optimistic regarding the reconstruction of this dam. The truth is that the area heralds a promising future for an agricultural renaissance, especially since the citizens in the area are interested in the various agricultural activities. We felt this through the projects reserved in the name of the farmer citizens.

Underground water in the area is fresh and is said to exist in large quantities. Construction of the dam will help to resupply the underground store in this area and to irrigate a vast acreage in this part of the homeland.

Our visit to Ma'rib Dam reminded us of the great accomplishments achieved by our forefathers in the sphere of irrigation and agriculture when Yemen was one of the most ancient nations renowned for building dams and for securing its food needs from agriculture. This encourages our people to follow the example of our ancestors in order to secure food for our people's masses in both parts because this issue has become one of the most important issues being examined by all the international organizations and by both advanced and developing countries.

To tell the truth, we feel that coordination between the two parts through these visits will help us continue to work for an agricultural renaissance in our greater Yemeni homeland.

/Question/ What are the spheres of agricultural development in the southern part of the homeland and what is the role of the agricultural cooperatives in raising the level of agriculture and in assisting cooperative farmers?

/Answer/ In the preceding period, we in the southern part of the homeland have been able to establish a material base for the agricultural sector. Our most important task was to utilize and control dam water. In this regard, we have built a large number of dams and hundreds of artesian wells in various parts of the south. We have also set up numerous agricultural cooperatives in the various valleys which include hundreds of farmers and control nearly 60 percent of the arable land. These cooperatives include most of the farmers in the southern part and they have been able to assist the farmers, especially by supplying pumps, agricultural machinery, seeds and fertilizer, in addition to supplying the necessary assistance to needy farmers and their children.

I can say that the agricultural cooperatives could not have achieved this on their own and that state aid was essential at the outset. Moreover, we have set up numerous state farms in the main valleys in Hadhramaut, Abyan and Lahij. I can say that the state farms now represent a model of which we are proud in our agricultural effort.

The agricultural sector is a broad sphere and numerous establishments have been set up in this sector to help the farmers and agricultural workers. We have 16 stations which lease agricultural machinery and serve the farmers and the state farms through leasing machinery and carrying out maintenance work on the machinery of the farms and the cooperatives. We also have establishments that collect all agricultural products and market them at home and abroad. The Public Vegetables Establishment's duty is to purchase and market all the vegetables and fruits produced by the farmers.

The Abyan-Tibn Delta Authority is concerned with cotton production and marketing.

We have a poultry establishment which currently supplies 50 million eggs annually for local consumption. In the coming 5-year plan, it is expected that this establishment will meet all our meat and poultry needs.

The Yemeni Socialist Party devotes, of course, great attention and gives great importance to the agricultural issue, as it gives such importance to other sectors, to the issue of coordination with our brothers in the northern part of the homeland and to the issue of moving steadily toward achieving Yemeni unity.

AFGHANISTAN

REBEL LEADER SAYS NO U.S. AID RECEIVED

PM101540 Tiyyadh AL-JAZIRAH in Arabic 12 Sep 85 p 1

[Hamid 'Abdallah al-Huwaymani report: "Afghan Mujahidin Control of Liberated Territory Increasing"]

[Text] The great Afghan and Islamic fighter ('Abd Rabb al-Rasul Sayyaf), commander of the Afghan Mujahedin Union, has reaffirmed that the Mujahidin are still scoring successive victories against the Soviet invasion forces and the Afghan forces of the lackey regime in Kabul led by Babrak Karmal. He said that the Mujahidin's control of the territory liberated from the invaders and their agents is increasing daily and that the might of the communist Red Army has failed to prevent the Mujahedin's victory and expansion of their control of vast areas in the country.

He added that the credit for the continuation of the Mujahedin's struggle until the departure of the last Soviet occupation soldier and the downfall of the lackey communist regime goes, after God and the Mujahedin's seriousness in their struggle, to the aid received by the Mujahedin from their Muslim brothers in the Islamic states and especially from the Saudi Popular Committee, the Saudi Red Crescent, the Kuwaiti Red Crescent, and the African Relief Committee.

Asked if the United States in particular has given any significant material or military aid to the Mujahedin, he said so far we have not received any material or military aid from any side other than our Muslim brothers. As far as the United States is concerned, he added, its support for us has so far been confined to political and informational propaganda.

('Abd Rabb al-Rasul Sayyaf) denied that non-Afghan fighters are participating in the struggle against the Soviet occupation forces and their lackey regime in Kabul.

He added: Our Muslim brothers in particular should shoulder their considerable responsibilities toward our struggle for God, for our occupied homeland and for our religious and cultural heritage, which the Soviet invaders and their communist agents are trying to destroy and wipe out in our Islamic country.

Concluding his statement to AL-JAZIRAH he said that the Mujahedin will continue their struggle and, God willing, triumph. Their military position in the battlefield, he said, is excellent.

CSO: 4604/2

AFGHANISTAN

SOVIET OFFENSIVE SAID AIMED AT BLOCKING ACCESS FROM PAKISTAN

DW162120 Bonn DIE WELT in German 14 Sep 85 p 5

[Walter Rueb Article: "Flight Across the Mines"]

[Text] The Soviet offensive in the Afghan-Pakistani border area between Jalalabad in the province of Nangahar in the north and Khost in Paktia in the south is in particular aimed at blocking the access roads of resistance fighters from Pakistan into their occupied country. This was stated in an eyewitness report by German nurse Maria Mueller of the Bonn Afghanistan Committee. She just returned from that area to Bonn via Pakistan.

"The Russians destroy villages, towns, and even individual houses by air-raids," the nurse said to DIE WELT. "They use a large number of combat aircraft. In low-level attacks they shoot at everything that moves. They even fired rockets at a small tea-house where we had just had a little rest. In the area around the town of Khost which is besieged by the guerrilla the Russians have deployed large troop units. The Mujahidin's bases are in the near-by mountains. Large refugee treks on their way to Pakistan pass the fighting area--across the minefields. The Russians mine all crossings to Pakistan and in the Khost area practice target-shooting at the refugee columns when the weather is clear. Recently the Soviets and the Karmal army have laid time mines. When someone steps on them they explode several seconds later. Meanwhile, real beaten tracks run across the minefields. When two columns meet, it is doubly dangerous..."

Maris Mueller added that the roads over the mountains were impassable for the refugee treks. For camels and other pack animals the trails and paths were too steep. "In Nangahar and Kunar further north the Russians meanwhile even dominate the mountain region. Their helicopters even land on 4,500 m high mountain-tops, drop troops which set up posts and hunt refugees and resistance fighters. In the Parachinar area the Russians are 1 km away from the Pakistani border. It becomes increasingly difficult and dangerous for the Mujahidin to pass."

The fact-finding team of the ultra-short wave transmitter "Voice of Free Afghanistan" which is financed from German voluntary contributions also faced the intensified military activities of Soviet and Karmal troops. During technical tests and field exploration the 25-meter team got into a Soviet ambush. Two persons were killed and one injured.

"Nonetheless, during the 2-month fact-finding period, adequate transmitter sites and several collaborators were found," Bundeswehr Major Erik Kothny said. He is the founder of the sponsor company of "Voice of Free Afghanistan." This company will now train Afghans in the Federal Republik as journalists to enable them to run the ultra-short wave transmitter.

Observers are of the view that the Soviets' intensified military activities also have political reasons. By force of arms they want to make resistance fighters agree to negotiations. A high-ranking member of an Afghan resistance organization said to DIE WELT that "the adamant attitude of resistance organizations prevents a political solution of the Afghanistan conflict. The accords negotiated at the recent Geneva talks in August threaten to become worthless, irresistance continues to refuse to make concessions. The Russians' brutal demonstration of power is intended to make it clear to the guerrilla leaders that even a hard and dissatisfactory political solution of the conflict is better than a continuation of the war which involves heavy losses and cannot be won. The war-weary Soviets hope that fear is created among the resistance organizations that a border blockade would make it impossible for them to continue the war against the aggressor from Pakistani territory."

CSO: 4620/4

AFGHANISTAN

BRIEFS

ENVOY TO LIBYA--Approval has been sought and now received from the socialist people's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya for the appointment of former Mines and Industries Minister Mohammad Esmail Danesh as DRA ambassador to that country. [Text] [Kabul Domestic Service in Dari 1600 GMT 18 Sep 85]

CSO: 4665/5

BANGLADESH

MINISTER, PRESS COUNCIL DISCUSS NEWSPAPER CONTROL

Information Minister's Speech

Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English 11 Sep 85 pp 1, 8

[Text] Information Minister Shah Moazzem Hossain yesterday called for building up a healthy trend of journalism that would uphold the moral and religious tradition of our society.

Inaugurating a training course for the editors of the regional weeklies at the Press Institute of Bangladesh, PIB, yesterday the minister said that for the sake of publicity some newspapers publishing news items and photographs that reflect the bad taste of the publishers. This, he said, creates anarchy in the society.

Presided over by Mr Khairul Kabir, a member of the Management Board of the PIB, the inaugural session was also addressed by Information Secretary Manzurul Karim, Gholam Rasul Mullick, member, PIB Management Board and Shahidul Huq, director general of the PIB. A total of 17 editors weeklies of different regions are participating in the two-week training programme that will continue through 25 September.

Dwelling on the government stand Shah Moazzem said, government was not in favour of closing the newspapers nor did they want that there should be no criticism of the government. He, however, reminded that allowing the publication of a newspaper did not mean a license to writing whatever one liked and criticism did not mean abuses, falsehood and fabricated statements.

He noted whenever a newspaper was banned journalists held meetings demanding immediate lifting of the ban but he regretted that they never exercised their good offices to persuade the newspapers concerned to refrain from publishing unwanted items.

The information minister said, he never said that newspapers should not print news of crimes but appealed to publish news of nation building activities. Whenever a newspaper publishes news of hijack, rape, murder and give them prominent display that reflect a distorted picture of the nation.

Underlining the need for training, the minister said, there was an increasing trend of getting training abroad ignoring the local experts. He said, very few of us have an open eye on our neighbourhood and less developed areas like Jinzira or Badda on the other side of posh Gushan.

Mr Manzurul Karim said, the commercial aspect of a newspaper was not the headache of the government alone. He said, publishers should think of the commercial viability before publishing newspapers which he said were mushrooming in the recent days.

Mr Gholam Rasul Mullick said, the number of newspapers now being printed from a land of over 100 million people could in no way be said to have reached a mushrooming growth. He, however, said professional excellence must be achieved in all the publications.

Contradicting a statement he said advertisement to newspaper was not a mercy shown by the government. He said the advertisement may be looked upon as an incentive from the public fund to the press which is engaged in educating, entertaining and informing the people and keeping them aware of their rights making them conscious. He termed the newspapers as the watchdogs of the society.

Mr Khairul Kabir said the standard of newspapers of the country had improved over the period since its first appearance. Stressing the need for training he said the PIB would arrange some more courses of this sort.

Press Council Discussion

Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English 11 Sep 85 pp 1, 8

[Text] The government should consult the Press Council before taking action against any newspaper.

Expressing this view, a meeting in a city [word indistinct] on Sunday its members of the Press Council said [word indistinct] an approach would help the government itself.

Speaking at the meeting Barrister Mainul Hosein said the council had endeavoured to uphold the ethics of journalism at a time when a grave situation was prevailing in the country and the newspapers were passing through a miserable condition.

He expressed the hope that the Press Council would continue discharging its responsibility to protect freedom of press and growth of healthy journalism.

Barrister Hosein said closing down a newspaper by the government was too extreme a measure and in such matter the Press Council should be taken into confidence before the action was taken.

Subscribing to his views Mr Golan Rasul Mallik said the Special Powers Act should be annulled.

The meeting, the last of the present committee, was presided over by chairman of the Press Council Gazi Shamsur Rahman and was attended by Prof Syed Ali Ahsan, Mr Anwar Zahid, Mr Abul Asad, Mr Sanaullah Noori, Mr Manzoor-e-Maula, Mr Abdur Rahim, Mr Abu Salek and Mr A. M. Mufazzel.

Later Barrister Mainul Hosein hosted a lunch in honour of the members of the Press Council.

CSO: 4600/1020

BANGLADESH

TRADE UNIONS SUBMIT MEMORANDUM TO ERSHAD

Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English 11 Sep 85 pp 1, 8

[Text] Sramik Karmachari Oikya Parishad (SKOP) yesterday submitted a memorandum to President and CMLA Lt. Gen. H. M. Ershad demanding implementation of all clauses of the agreement signed between the government and the SKOP on 21 May in 1984, restoration of democratic and trade union rights and unconditional release of all political detainees.

The memorandum signed by the key figures of 15 trade union federations contains a fresh fivepoint demand and its background.

The SKOP has claimed that discontent is simmering among the workers and employees in the country owing to the government policy and actions regarding their problems.

The first point of the new charter of demand urges the government to immediately grant trade union rights for workers, employees and agricultural workers to allow workers and employees to elect their leaders at their respective plant level, to withdraw martial law and to restore democratic and fundamental rights and to release unconditionally all convicted, detained and under trial trade unionists, workers, students and politicians.

The second point related to removal of all disparities in the allowances and facilities of workers and employees and implementation of the Wage Commission award with effect from 1 July 1984, maintenance of parity in respect of wages and allowances between the public-sector workers, and the private-sector workers, view enhancement of wages with a narrowing down gap between maximum and minimum scales and distribution of essentials among the toiling masses at reduced and fixed prices.

Thirdly, the SKOP has demanded settlement of all charters of demands submitted earlier by trade union federations including the Patkal Sramik Federation and national union and implementation of all previous agreements in their entirety. Immediate reinstatement of all sacked bank employees, 500 workers and employees dismissed before proclamation of the martial law and those who lost their jobs during the military rule an immediate end to transfer of nationalised industries under private ownership and cessation of the sale of shares.

Fourthly, the SKOP urges the government to take under its control the dis-invested and private-owned industries which have been closed down or put under lay-off partially or fully and operate them immediately, to distribute fertilizer through the BADC down to the upazila level, to hold enquiries into corruption and wastage and publish these reports, ensure fair price of jute to protect the jute industry of the country, to strictly check smuggling of yarn and cotton, to ensure fair prices of sugar-cane and tobacco and to ban import of sugar and to take steps for protection of the garment industries.

The fifth point of the charter of demand relates to the labour courts, recovery of benefits for the workers and employees who have been victims of the "loss of lien" and some other facilities for them.

CSO: 4600/1020

BRIEFS

ALBANIAN AMBASSADOR--The ambassador-designate of Albania to Bangladesh, Mr Dhimiter Stamo, presented his credentials to President Hussain Mohammad Ershad at Bangabhaban on Monday morning, reports BSS. The new envoy expressed the hope that during his tenure of office the existing friendly ties and cooperation between the two countries will be strengthened further to the mutual benefit of their peoples. Reciprocating the sentiments, the president assured the new ambassador of all possible cooperation in the smooth discharge of his duties. Earlier, on arrival at Bangabhaban the Albanian envoy was given a guard of honour by the president's guard regiment. He took salute and inspected the guard. [Text] [Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 11 Sep 85 p 3]

GUATEMALAN ENVOY NAMED--Guatemala has appointed Jose Alberto Sandoval-Cojulun its ambassador to Bangladesh with residence in Tokyo, it was officially announced in Dhaka on Sunday, reports BSS. Born on 16 July 1940 Mr Sandoval-Cojulun obtained his J.D. degree from the Law School of the University of San Carlos of Guatemala in 1966 and joined foreign service the same year. Prior to his present assignment, he was in the profession of law and notarization. [Text] [Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 10 Sep 85 p 3]

JALSHA PERIODICAL BANNED--The government has prohibited with immediate effect the publication of any subsequent issue of the Bengal periodical JALSHA printed, published and edited by Mr Aftabuddin Ahmad from Rosy Art Press 35 B K Das Road (Farashgani) Dhaka-1 according to a PID handout on Sunday night reports BSS. The action against the periodical has been taken under the Special Powers Act 1974 for publishing some prejudicial articles and pictures in its issue of July 1985 the handout said. [Text] [Dhaka THE BANGLADESH OBSERVER in English 9 Sep 85 p 3]

COOPERATION WITH DPRK--The Democratic Republic of Korea (DPRK) will continue to cooperate with Bangladesh in the development of communications sector, reports BSS. This was stated by DPRK ambassador to Bangladesh, Mr Kim-Chol Song when he called on state minister of communications, Mr Zafar Imam at his office in city yesterday. The ambassador expressed his government's keen interest in undertaking joint venture projects with Bangladesh for development of railway. The state minister recalled with appreciation the role of North Korea in different sectors of development in our country. He expressed the hope that this cooperation will continue and strengthen the existing friendly ties between the two nations. [Text] [Dhaka THE NEW NATION in English 5 Sep 85 p 1]

INDIA

CORRESPONDENT ON UNSIGNED U.S.-INDIAN AGREEMENT

Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 11 Sep 85 p 1

[Article by Warren Unna]

[Text]

WASHINGTON, Sept. 10.—When Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi visited U.S. President Ronald Reagan here in June one of the items on the action agenda was to be the signing of an agreement to create a permanent endowment to fund future Indo-American scientific, educational and cultural exchanges. The signing never occurred and U.S. officials are puzzled as to why.

If Mr Gandhi and Mr Reagan are to have another meeting in New York in October, as has been tentatively scheduled, the signing could occur then. But so far, U.S. officials detect no flurry of activity in New Delhi. And Indian Embassy officials here in Washington, referring to "procedural reservations" and "the clearance of bottlenecks", also know of no progress.

What is proposed is that the \$110 million in rupees which still remain unspent from Indian repayments for U.S. Government aid loans, and which are on deposit earning considerable interest in U.S. banks in India, now be dedicated to a permanent endowment administered by a joint Indo-American board. The interest on this fund, estimated at the equivalent of \$10 million in rupees a year, would carry on the Indo-American exchanges. The remaining \$110 million principal would be kept intact to earn the interest. If action is not taken fairly

soon, U.S. officials say these exchanges will have to be discontinued for lack of funding. The original capital of some \$769 million in banked rupee repayments for the old U.S. loans has been dispensed from principal where no interest accumulated for the past 11 years. It may have only another year left before dropping to zero.

The exchanges which have been funded have gone to such mutually useful projects as furthering Indo-American scientific research to curb blindness in India (something the late Prime Minister Indira Gandhi was particularly interested in); helping fight wheat disease (which currently threatens Indian crops and could one day threaten American crops); and countering the gypsy moth's ravage of U.S. timber forests (with such natural enemies as a larva-feeding parasite found in India).

"These excess rupee cooperative projects have kept Americans and Indians together despite the ups and downs of the political climate", one U.S. State Department official explained.

Until the end of 1973, the U.S. had accumulated no less than \$3.3 billion in rupee repayments from American development loans and Public Law 480 grain shipments to India. Under an agreement worked out between the then U.S. Ambassador to India (and now U.S. Senator), Daniel Patrick Moynihan, and the late

Indian Finance Secretary, M. G. Kaul, it was decided that the U.S. would write off or "forgive" two-thirds of this—\$2.2 billion in rupees; and that the remaining one-third—\$1.1 billion in rupees—would be spent, with Indian approval, on U.S. Government maintenance expenses in India, as well as on projects to further Indo-American interests.

The original "rupee agreement" was formally signed and went into effect in the beginning of 1974. As it became apparent that the \$1.1 billion was coming to an end, the recently-departed U.S. Ambassador to India, Harry Barnes, conceived of setting up a permanent endowment of what remained. In that way, the goodwill engendered by Indo-American scientific, educational and cultural exchanges would be allowed to continue on a more modest scale by spending only the amount generated by the interest on the banked rupees.

One theory among U.S. officials regarding the current Indian "procedural reservations" is that Delhi is fearful that if it openly blesses the continuance of interest-bearing U.S. rupee accounts in U.S. banks in India, the Soviet Union might start demanding interest for delayed repayments on its trade exports to India. Indian Embassy officials discount this, claiming that Indo-Soviet trade agreements are very different arrangements and incur no permanent bank deposits.

INDIA

BRIEFS

MISSION TO TOKYO--Tokyo, 11 Sep--A high-power economic mission from India led by Mr L. K. Jha, adviser to the prime minister, Mr Rajiv Gandhi, arrived here today for a week-long visit which is expected to contribute to the strengthening of economic relations between the two countries. The 22-member mission consists, in addition to Mr Jha, of four senior government officials and 17 top ranking leaders of industry. The mission's visit follows the visit to India last December of a Japanese economic mission led by Mr Goro Koyama, chairman of the Mitsui Bank. The mission will call on the prime minister, Mr Yasuhiro Nakasone, tomorrow and also have talks with the minister for international trade and industry, the director-general of the Economic Planning Agency, and high-ranking Foreign Ministry officials. This evening, almost immediately after arriving the mission called on the finance minister, Mr Noboru Takeshita. The group will also have discussions with Mr Yoshihiro Inayama, chairman of the powerful Keidanren (Federation of Economic Organisations), Mr Noboru Got, president of the Japan Chamber of Commerce and Industry, and industry leaders. The government officials in the mission are from the Departments of Industrial Development, Economic Affairs, Electronics and Telecommunications. [Text] [By K. V. Narain] [Madras THE HINDU in English 12 Sep 85 p 9]

AFGHAN REBELS--A sizable number of Afghan Mujahideen (freedom fighters) now fighting the Kabul Government while camping in Pakistan is now in Calcutta, according to a Central Intelligence source. Led by a self-styled Major Atab Mohammed, the group members are trying to mobilize the opinion of Calcutta's Afghan population against the Kabul Government. It may be mentioned that some time ago, an organization called Afghan Liberation Coordination Committee was formed in Calcutta to mobilize public opinion against "Russian aggression." Some Janata Party leaders lent their support to the organization. The source also said that Mr Nasim Ali, the leader of the Pakistani Bihari Muslims who were stranded in Bangladesh since liberation, had recently visited Calcutta and met some political leaders. He has particularly thanked a leader for giving shelter to a number of such people in Calcutta and its neighbouring areas by providing them with ration cards and helping to include their names in the electoral roll. According to an estimate, there has been a sharp drop recently in the number of such Pakistani Muslims in Bangladesh. It is believed that in the name of their proposed "long march" to Pakistan, a large number of them have infiltrated into India. [Text] [Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 11 Sep 85 p 16]

WORLD BANK LOAN--Panaji, 6 Sep--The union minister of state for shipping and transport, Mr Z. R. Ansari, said here today that the World Bank had agreed to give a loan of \$200 million for construction of highways in six states--Gujarat, West Bengal, Punjab, Haryana, Tamil Nadu and Uttar Pradesh, reports PTI. The loan would help in building 500 km of the country's national highway system. The minister's speech was read out in his absence by Mr P. P. Nayyar, secretary in the Ministry of Transport and Shipping, at the 114th council meeting of the Indian Road Congress. [Text] [Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 7 Sep 85 p 9]

TRIPURA CABINET RECONSTITUTED--Agartala, 6 Sep--The 13-member Left Front Cabinet in Tripura was reconstituted today, with the induction of the CPI(M)'s State Legislature Party Chief Whip, Mr Samar Choudhury, into the 32-month old ministry, reports PTI. He was sworn in by the State Governor, General K. V. Krishna Rao (Retd), at an official function at Raj Bhavan this morning. Mr Choudhury was allotted the Departments of Labour, Animal Husbandry and Health. He replaces Mr Biren Dutta, who resigned from the cabinet on "health grounds." Mr Dutta's resignation was accepted on Wednesday by the Chief Minister, Mr Nripen Chakraborty, who also approved the minor cabinet reshuffle, allowing two ministers, Mr Khagen Das and Mr Abhiram Debbarma, to hand over the Health and Animal Husbandry portfolios, respectively, to Mr Samar Choudhury. Mr Das, however, retains charge of the Revenue Department, while Mr Debbarma will continue to hold the Cooperative portfolio. Meanwhile, the CPI(M) Tripura State Committee has expelled Mr Sukhomoy Debnath, a senior member of the party's Dharmanagar division committee, for alleged "anti-party activities and breach of party discipline." The state committee, which met on 3 and 4 September, approved the expulsion notice served on Mr Debnath by the Dharmanagar divisional committee in North District, according to a party press release today. [Text] [Calcutta THE STATESMAN in English 7 Sep 85 p 7]

CPI-ML LEADER'S STATEMENT--Calcutta, 8 Sep--The CPI(ML) led by Mr Santosh Rana and Mr Vaskar Nandy has called upon the people of Assam to dishonour the Assam accord and launch a united struggle against the Congress (I) and the "chauvinist AASU leadership." In a press release issued by the CPI(ML), Mr Nandy observed that the people of Assam have begun to realise how they had been misused by the Congress(I) and the upper caste Assamese chauvinist for "their own game." [Text] [Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English 9 Sep 85 p 2]

TAMIL NADU CABINET CHANGES--Madras, 5 Sep--Ms Jayalalitha, AIADMK MP, has been reinstated as the propaganda secretary of the party. A statement issued by the AIADMK general secretary, Mr R. M. Raghavanandam, today announced her reinstatement, which has been "approved" by the party leader and chief minister, Mr M. G. Ramachandran. Ms Jayalalitha was removed from her position as propaganda secretary last year following the implementation of the party's "one person-one post" policy. PTI, UNI adds: Mr Ramachandran today took over the portfolio of information and publicity from Mr. R. M. Veerappan. Mr Veerappan has been given charge of planning, archaeology and passport. [Text] [Calcutta THE TELEGRAPH in English 6 Sep 85 p 1]

IRAN

ISLAMIC SCHOLAR'S DEATH ASCRIBED TO BAHRAINI PLOT

LD241559 Tehran AL-JIHAD in Arabic 9 Sep 85 p 2

[Text] Last Thursday, 5 September 1985, marked the 'Arba'iniyah [fortieth day after death] of the martyr Hojjat ol-Eslam val-Moslemin Ahmad al-Ghurayfi, who met this martyrdom at 1100 pm on Saturday, 27 July 1985, in a car accident hatched by the Bahraini authorities.

It is known that martyr Al-Ghurayfi occupied a unique place in the ranks of the Muslim masses in Bahrain. For this reason, the Al-Khalifah authorities did not dare to attack him directly; instead, they hatched a ruse that led to his death, may God bless his soul.

Martyr Al-Gurayfi was born in 1948 in Bahrain to a family known for hundreds of years in the Gulf and in Iraq for its deep-rooted scholarly talent. He progressed through the various stages of education and scholarly research until he graduated from the Al-Fiqh [in Iraq], and particularly in the martyr Grand Ayatollah Al-Sadr, may god bless his soul.

The martyr took up higher studies in the faculty of science in Cairo and won a magisterial certificate in Islamic studies in 1980. He prepared himself for a doctorate but abandoned this idea when he found out that the Islamic scene in Bahrain required his continuous presence. He interrupted his studies and returned to his country to devote himself to Islamic action.

The martyr carried out outstanding activity in Cairo and became the principal inspiration for many Gulf young believers. He used the Ahl al-Beit Society in Cairo as a platform for his purposeful Islamic activity, organizing mass prayers there, delivering lectures, arranging symposia, and commemorating Islamic events.

After his return to Bahrain, the Al-Khawaja Mosque in Manama witnessed a large-scale activity and changes undertaken by the martyr to the extent that the mosque became a focus and rallying point for youth. Likewise, the Bahraini villages witnessed his Islamic action, especially after the closure the Islamic Awakening Society [Jam'iyyat al-Taw'iyah al-Islamiyah] and the arrests of scholars and young believers.

Despite everything, the martyr stepped up his action; and the atheist authorities could not remain silent and bear it lest this lead to a sweeping mass uprising against them. They decided to harass the martyr in order to curtail his activity and control his moves. Finally, they resorted to one of the cowardly methods of the tyrants, arranging a car accident that took his life, may God bless his soul.

CSO: 4604/1

IRAN

COMMENTATOR CONDEMNS IRAN'S SUPPORT FOR AFGHAN 'CRIMINALS'

NC111100 Moscow in Persian to Iran 1600 GMT 10 Sep 85

[Vera Lebedeva Commentary]

[Excerpts] The Afghan counterrevolutionaries have committed yet another savage crime by bringing down a passenger plane on the Kabul-Qandahar route with a U.S. surface-to-air missile, causing the death of all 48 passengers and 5 crew members on board.

The Afghan counterrevolutionaries do not only enjoy the support of the imperialists. Pakistan too has been turned into a special base for the training and arming of the counterrevolutionaries. The Islamabad regime is now playing the indecent role of imperialist gendarme in the region, a role previously played by the Shah's regime before the 11 February revolution.

It is strange but true that the Afghan insurgents enjoy Tehran's support as well. Iranians and Afghans have been next-door neighbors for many centuries and they are linked by cultural, historic, and religious ties. These two peoples are united by their desire for freedom and their hatred of oppression. Then why has Iran now joined the ranks of the enemies of the Afghan people? Is this in the interests of the Iranian people, who, like the Afghans, rebelled, overthrew the Shah's despotism, and ended imperialists meddling in their country?

Dear friends, judge for yourselves. Those in Iran who support the Afghan counterrevolutionaries should also approve of their acts against the Afghan people. This support is tantamount to approval of the missile launched at the passenger plane killing 52 innocent people. It is tantamount to approval of the killing of civilians and defenseless people in Afghanistan, of the mining of roads, the destruction of schools, mosques, and hospitals, and the burning of the holy Koran and other Islamic books. Those who assist the Afghan insurgents in their fight against Afghanistan's popular regime have become the henchmen of counterrevolution and imperialism and

are cooperating with them to revive the feudal regime of the past. This should be understood by those who listen to the false anti-Afghan propaganda disseminated by the imperialist mass media and their followers.

The criminals who brought down the Afghan passenger plane with a U.S. missile and have committed other savage and bloody crimes in the undeclared war being waged against the Afghan people cannot terrorize Afghan workers. The imperialists who also praise these savage acts will not be able to stop the revolutionary trend in Afghanistan.

CSO: 4640/7

IRAN

PROSECUTOR-GENERAL WARNS AGAINST COUNTERREVOLUTIONARIES' RETURN

LD300905 Tehran Domestic Service in Persian 0430 GMT 30 Sep 85

[Text] At a gathering of the employees of the prosecutor general's office, the prosecutor general referred to the role played by the public prosecutor's offices, saying: These offices should be strengthened as much as possible, and we should stop them from becoming mere bureaucratic institutions. Prosecutor General Musavi-Kho'ini added: The explosion, which resulted in the martyrdom of 72 people including the late martyrs Beheshti and Mohammad Montazeri, did not damage the revolution as much as the return of counterrevolutionaries to our country will, because with the martyrdom of the 72 another revolution began. But with the return of these counterrevolutionaries all revolutionary values will be undermined.

He also added: Whom should we blame if some of the workers of factories, which have been returned to their former owners, are fired and as a result lose their faith in Islam? These workers are bound to ask: Why are these corrupt and faithless people, who were at one point supported by the Shah, being helped by officials, whereas it was the workers who suffered for God, Islam and the revolution? How are you to answer them? You who work in courtrooms and public prosecutor's offices should put yourselves in that workers' shoes. Would you not hate the Islamic Republic because of such a verdict?

The state prosecutor general said: I advise the brothers in charge of implementing Article 49 of the constitution to implement this article and strangle the counterrevolutionaries.

He stressed: Consider the deprived people whose rights have been trampled on. Some people believe that the greatest sin in the Islamic Republic is for a woman not to wear her scarf properly. Of course, it is a sin not to wear Islamic covering, or not to wear it correctly, and such acts should be dealt with in accordance with the law. But to turn a blind eye to the sin of a usurer and to give him a new lease of life in our society, to allow him to walk the streets and to laugh at us, is graver than that of the woman who is not covered properly.

He finally added: Under no circumstances, be it lawlessness, or anarchy, or because of laws favoring the counterrevolutionaries, would it please God to issue a verdict in the interests of the counterrevolutionaries.

CSO: 4640/5

IRAN

DISSIDENT SAYS ONLY ARMED STRUGGLE WILL TOPPLE REGIME

FG221509 (Clandestine) Radio Iran in Persian 1330 GMT 22 Sep 85]

[Excerpt] The weekly newspaper NEHZAT, the organ of the National Resistance Movement of Iran [NRMI], has conducted an interview with Dr Abdol Rahman Borumand. On 21 August, Borumand was chosen secretary of the Executive Council of the NRMI.

Dr Borumand has no doubt that if the existing atmosphere in Iran continues to be one of oppression and fear, propaganda and political struggles will not be enough to solve the people's problems. He stated that there would be choice but to take up armed rebellion against the regime.

Dr Borumand was elected secretary during the Executive Council's regular meeting on 21 August by majority vote. In an exclusive interview he told NEHZAT: There have been thousands of resistance cells established inside Iran. These cells each have three to five members and all have constant, organized contact with their headquarters. They get the necessary orders and training from their headquarters.

The contact between the cells is so organized that on the great day of the revolution, in the shortest time, all these forces throughout Iran will join one another and will enter into action.

CSO: 3530/6

IRAN

CLANDESTINE RADIO CITES ANTI-REGIME STATEMENT BY MILITARY

GF221150 (Clandestine) Radio Najat-e Iran in Persian 0330 GMT
22 Sep 85

[Text] The patriotic Iranian armed forces have issued a strongly worded statement as their first reaction to Khomeyni's latest plot to dissolve the Iranian National Armed Forces, and have distributed it on in the bases, in residential areas, on the battlefronts, at the police academy, and at the officers academy.

According to Radio Najat-e Iran correspondents, the statement vehemently criticizes the anti-Iranian step by the mullahs to put the vagabonds and vagrants to the Guards Corps in place of career military personnel in the Iranian Armed Forces. In this statement, the patriotic armed forces personnel have raised the curtain on the attempts of Khomeyni, Hashemi-Rafsanjani, and Khamene'i to gradually dissolve the Iranian national army.

In a section of this statement it is said: The members of the Iranian Armed Forces are the selfless soldiers of this soil and have the responsibility to defend their homeland. For this reason, they have taken a collective oath that, in protection of independence and the territorial integrity of their hallowed land, they will shed the last drop of their blood in combat with the Satanic mullahs and to topple the despotic regime.

At the end of the statement, it is pointed out that the surrender of arms by all Khomeyni's guards could be done within 24 hours and the barrels of the rifles turned toward the internal enemy of the country, that is the ruler at Jamaran, instead of the external enemy.

CSO: 4640/8

IRAN

BRIEFS

CUSTOMS ADMINISTRATION MONTHLY REPORT--Tehran, 25 Sep (IRNA)--Between 23 July and 23 August about 1,546,323 tons of goods entered major Iranian customs offices, an increase in weight of 10.43 percent as compared to the same period last year, said Iran's Customs Administration, here Tuesday. Non-oil exports in the said month, amounted to 157,109 tons, an increase of 851.6 percent as compared to the same period last year. The total price of exported goods during the period showed an increase of 94 percent as compared to the same period. During the period about 92,733 persons entered Iran by air, land and sea, among them 35,214 foreigners in August 1985, and also 102,516 persons travelled abroad including 69,342 Iranians, most of them from immigration check-points in Bazargan, Shiraz and Bandar-abbas. [Text] [Tehran IRNA in English 1350 GMT 25 Sep 85]

WHEAT PURCHASE FROM KORDESTAN--Sanandaj, Kordestan Prov., 17 Sep (IRNA)--Some 152 thousand tons of wheat have been purchased from farmers in Kordestan Province since the beginning of the harvest season this year, up by 20 percent as compared to last year's purchase from farmers in the province. Government purchase of wheat from provincial growers is expected to reach 180 thousand tons by the end of the season. [Text] [Tehran IRAN in English 0716 GMT 17 Sep 85]

CSO: 4600/16

PAKISTAN

JAMAAT-E ISLAMI CHIEF TALKS ABOUT PARTY'S AGITATION, REGIME

Karachi JASARAT in Urdu 25 Jul 85 p 3

[Interview with Mian Tufail Mohammad, Jamaat-e Islami chief; date and place not specified]

[Excerpts] [Question] Mian Saheb, will you explain the reason for starting the 4-point movement? Will you also tell us what your impressions are about your recent visit to Baluchistan, Sindh and Punjab? What is the reaction of the people? What do they want?

[Answer] I believe that the whole nation is anxiously waiting for martial law to be lifted. President Ziaul Haq himself has referred to martial law as a curse and has made it clear that he will not allow this curse to remain in force even for a single moment more than absolutely necessary. President Ziaul Haq held the referendum on 19 December particularly to seek the people's mandate on lifting martial law and the transfer of power, and then again the February elections were also held for the same purpose. Jamaat-e Islami participated in these elections because they pave the way for lifting martial law and the transfer of power. The powerful demands of the elected representatives for lifting martial law resulted in the formation of special committees in the National Assembly and the Senate. It is now being said that after the results of this action become clear parliament will propose a plan which will be presented to the prime minister and that the procedure for ending martial law will be completed in accordance with that plan. We started our 4-point program to "channel" the national demand for ending martial law in order that this demand may proceed in the right direction and not give rise to erroneous results.

I discussed the same subject the other day during a meeting with Prime Minister Junejo. I told him that we started this movement to accelerate the work begun by the elected members of the Assembly and make it more effective and efficient. Mr Junejo agreed with our point of view and said that it has always been his desire to see that this work is accomplished as soon as possible in accordance with the desires and ambitions of the people.

[Question] Did Mr Junejo indicate when martial law can be lifted?

[Answer] To tell the truth, he does not have any idea himself.

[Question] How long will this movement continue?

[Answer] We will continue this movement so long as martial law is not lifted. If you were to think of it, our movement is nothing new. We have been demanding that martial be lifted and elections be held and power be transferred to the elected representatives of the people since 1985. And now we have tried to present our demands in a more organized manner.

[Question] Even people calling themselves champions of democracy have declared that the people do not care whether or not martial law is lifted and democracy is restored. All that they are interested in is that their problems should be solved. They have formed "program committees" which will propose ways of resolving problems facing the people. But your 4-point movement is purely political and no mention is made in it about economic and other problems of the people.

[Answer] Our movement is not only political but is religious, political and economic as well, it covers all aspects. Islam is the other name for correcting the entire system of life. It corrects the morality of people, puts an end to corruption and bribery and looks after the needs of the poor and the needy. Islam, side by side with ordering people to pray, also orders that arrangements should be made to provide the poor with bread and necessary livelihood.

[Question] President Ziaul Haq, during an interview with ARABIA, said that he had been engaged in preparing a truly genuine program of the Islamic system but, due to pressure for restoring democracy and ending martial law, he had to leave his plans incomplete. During the course of this interview he also said that politicians would start turmoil the very day he lifts martial law, and that the elected members should be given the opportunity to organize and strengthen themselves so that they are able to confront the politicians outside the government and that, once the elected representatives achieve this position, he will lift martial law.

[Answer] Mr Ziaul Haq did not succeed in introducing the Islamic system because he did not allow anyone desirous of the Islamic system to come anywhere near him. He appointed to important positions people who would take the country further away from the Islamic system in the direction of a non-Islamic way of life. Let Mr Ziaul Haq name any person, man or woman, holding an important position who knows and has faith in Islam and possesses some capability of introducing it. As for Mr Ziaul Haq himself, what does he know about Islam except making the rounds of the holy places and visiting the Grand Mosque? Is the appointment of the Women's Commission for reforming the condition of women any evidence of the fact that Ziaul Haq would allow Islam to have a footing in Pakistan? In other words the appointment of the Women's Commission is enough to expose his claims of Islamic friendship.

Was alcoholism ever as common before prohibition as it is today? Was drug trafficking carried out on such a wide scale before he came to power? Was the crime rate the same before martial law as it is now? What is the nature of the vacuum he is so anxious to fill? District councils are functioning in the districts, there are municipal committees and corporations in the cities, assemblies and civil ministries in the provinces and the National Assembly and the Senate in the center. These have already held their respective sessions, fiscal

budgets have been passed, and planning for the year has been completed. What remains undone that the president is forced to retain martial law?

As far as his other argument is concerned that he is retaining martial law to save Pakistan from 6 persons who can very well be controlled by police officers, we do not need a system of government that has to deploy an army to keep 10 persons under control. If the elected government cannot confront Nusrat or Benazir how can it confront the Soviet Union and India?

Can't the people who have come into power as the elected representatives of the people confront and control those persons who have been rejected by the people? Those persons kept calling on the people to boycott the elections, but no one heeded them. Their own men left them and participated in the elections. Whose leaders are they? The fact is that these leaders do not wish to give up the seats of President Ziaul Haq. All kinds of excuses are being made. Attempts are being made to frighten them just as children are frightened by crying out "Run, the wolf has come."

[Question] They say that there is a scarcity of distinguished men.

[Answer] What will become of Pakistan the day there are no more distinguished men? Swar Khan is gone, so is Iqbal Khan. There used to be an admiral; he, too, is gone, and Mr Shamim of the Air-Force is gone. Before that it used to be said if Ghulam Mohammad were to be gone who would run the country, if Iskander Mirza were to be no more what would happen? Ayub Khan, Yahya Khan, Mr Bhutto, all of them are gone, but by the grace of God the country still exists. And now if someone else does not remain then God forbid what will happen to Pakistan.

[Question] It is being said that Muslim clergy and scholars do not unite and that the discord present among them has damaged the process of Islamization.

[Answer] The Muslim clergy prepared laws for all Pakistan and filled up the cabinets but none of these laws was ever implemented. The clergy were the members of the ideological council, Shia as well as Sunni, the modern as well as the old. They made laws in accordance with Islamic teachings. Why don't they say that they do not wish to implement those laws and that they do not like Islam. Why blame the unfortunate clergymen?

[Question] Mian Tufail, should the possibility of pressure from outside powers also be taken into account?

[Answer] If there is outside pressure, then people should be informed and taken into confidence. Just as outside powers have no right to interfere in our internal affairs, similarly, people who accept outside interference in our internal affairs have no right to rule.

[Question] You have on the one hand assured Prime Minister Junejo of your support for ending martial law and the transfer of power to the elected government and, on the other hand, Jamaat-e Islami has announced that it would play the role of the opposition party in the parliament.

[Answer] We support right actions and oppose wrong actions. We belong to the "reckoning party." Just as Islam advocates, our party does not believe in criticism for the sake of criticism. After the establishment of Pakistan we issued our first charter and our policy was exactly the same, that is, supporting good actions and opposing evil actions.

[Question] Can there be any possibility of cooperating with MRD [Movement for the Restoration of Democracy]?

[Answer] Jamaat-e Islami and MRD have some common aspects. For example, they want martial law to be lifted; so do we. They demand restoration of democracy and implementation of the 1973 Constitution, which happens to be our demand as well. There is no difference between Jamaat-e Islami and MRD on these matters. But we are certainly against dislocation of railway lines, looting of banks, banditry, robbery and overturning trains.

[Question] Recently some incidents took place in Karachi and then in Quetta. Some people say that these actions are being done to prolong martial law.

[Answer] We do not have any way of finding out the truth about these incidents. People who are saying these things quite possibly have more information than we have. But there is no doubt that some mischief makers in Quetta committed very cruel acts as a result of which the people have sympathized with the police. I found out these facts during my recent trip to Quetta.

[Question] The MRD wants the assemblies to be dissolved and power to be transferred to them.

[Answer] This is a very foolish demand. It is absolutely without any sound basis. After all, what basis do they have for making such a demand? Whom do they represent? They have not held any elections themselves until now. They cannot claim to represent the parties that are members of the organization they are leading. The current assemblies which they are proclaiming should be dissolved have been elected by the people. People voted for them. They are representatives of the people.

9315

CSO: 4656/148

PAKISTAN

MINISTER BRIEFS HOUSE ON UK RACIAL DISTURBANCES

BK010238 Karachi Domestic Service in English 1700 GMT 30 Sep 85

[Excerpts] The National Assembly disposed of a number of adjournment motions tonight and then took up legislative business. The minister for justice and parliamentary affairs, Mr Iqbal Ahmed Kahn, sought the permission of the House to withdraw the Constitution eighth amendment bill 1985, introduced in the National Assembly on the 8th of this month. The minister of state for foreign affairs, Mr Zain Noorani, speaking on the adjournment motions of Sheikh Rashid Ahmed and Mian Mohammed Zaman, said any attack on Kahuta [Pakistan's nuclear installation] would be considered as an act of war on Pakistan, and would be dealt with accordingly.

In identical adjournment motions, Allama Abd Mustafa al-Zahari, Haji Mohammad Nawaz Khokhar, Haji Mohammad Yunus Elahi, Sheikh Rashid Ahmed, Rai Ahmed Nawaz, Mian Mohammad Zaman, and Malik Abdur Rauf sought to raise discussions on the increasing incidents of racial violence in Britain, the minister of state for foreign affairs, Mr Zain Noorani, said as a result of the information gathered, 13 shops owned by Pakistanis in Birmingham were wholly or partly damaged; no Pakistani was however killed or injured. As for the racial violence in the south of London yesterday, he said reports received so far indicate that no immigrant of Pakistani origin has been involved or injured in the incident. He said Pakistan Government has no wish to interfere in the internal affairs of other states, but it cannot be indifferent to the welfare of Pakistani residents abroad. He said the Pakistan ambassador, with those of India and Bangladesh, had jointly called on the British home secretary and conveyed to him their concern at the increase in the incidents of racial violence in Britain. The British home secretary, he said, had assured the ambassadors that his government shared their concern and would take all the measures necessary to ensure the security of the immigrant community in Britain. He hoped that the British Government would provide relief and assistance to those who suffered in the riots and also take effective action to ensure the safety of Pakistani residents and prevent the recurrence of such incidents. On the statement by the minister, the movers did not press their motions.

CSO: 4600/17

PAKISTAN

AMNESTY'S PRISON TORTURE REPORT SAID 'CHILLING INDICTMENT'

Lahore VIEWPOINT in English 12 Sep 85 p 19

[Article by Ayaz Amir]

[Text] Amnesty International, a thorn in the side of every tinpot dictatorship while it lasts, and a consolation to the same dictatorship when it falls, has published a report entitled "Torture in the Eighties" which makes for stunning and gory reading.

It is no secret that despite the advance of cosmetic civilisation, torture is practised on such a scale as to put humanity to shame, not least in those countries which claim to be undergoing an Islamic revival. But just how wide and extensive this practice is becomes clear only after going through this incredible catalogue of State-sanctioned pain and humiliation.

Pride of Place

The list of countries involved is long but what should concern us is the fact that Pakistan, so little distinguished in other fields, takes pride of place in this.

You might object that there is nothing new about this, that torture, as we all know, is part of the standard fare in all our police stations. That is true. But torture of political prisoners while not unknown was never so widespread.

It is now much more common, its victims more varied and its methods more sophisticated. It is fair to say that more political prisoners have walked through the horror chambers of the Islamic Republic in the last eight years than in the previous thirty. Even when prisoners have not been actually tortured, the fear of torture has remained as an ever-present danger, inducing panic and dread.

Special Legislation

The report states that, "Emergency or other special legislation that allows wide powers of arrest and detention may facilitate torture. Suspects can be held on the vaguest of suspicions; crimes against the State are given broad,

elastic definition," The Provisional Constitutional Order, 1981, which clipped the wings of the higher judiciary, fulfilled this function in Pakistan doing away with any inhibitions the security services might have had to treat political prisoners in any manner that they chose.

Among other things, the report has this to say about Pakistan. "Political prisoners are known to have been tortured in Shahi Fort in Lahore, which is cited regularly as a place of interrogation where torture is used, at Attock and Bala Hissar forts, Warsak Camp, Muchh Jail, the military interrogation centre at Malir Cantonment, Clifton Police Station in Karachi and the Bladia interrogation centre near Karachi."

Chilling Indictment

This chilling indictment is nothing to be proud of. But the dangerous thing about this business is that torture once allowed to run unchecked quickly becomes institutionalised. People are afraid to speak up and by their very silence become involved in the guilt of complicity. A society as a result is brutalised, its standards of civilisation undermined and destroyed.

In Argentina where the discredited heads of the former junta are facing trial for the atrocities and deaths that occurred during their rule, the attention of the entire nation is riveted on the little court room where this drama is unfolding. The trial has opened the eyes of ordinary Argentinians but it has also brought them face to face with the fact that while the terror lasted, few of them had the courage to protest. As Charles Vanhecke, a French journalist, writes in 'Le Monde', "The Catholic Church, with a few exceptions, stayed silent. The political class asked only timid questions, and belatedly. The Press did not react very much. And among the people, those who were afraid rubbed shoulders with those--the vast majority--who did not feel concerned at all."

It would be a pity if the same was [words indistinct] Pakistan in the future. The [words indistinct] break out is now. Democracy [words indistinct] Constitution are very [words indistinct] but during the last eight years they have often been used as sedatives by the bourgeois opposition. Make the ritual bow before the altar of constitutionalism and you have done your duty; that seems to be the attitude.

But meanwhile so much else has happened, the worst of the Al Zulfikar bugbear is over but hundreds of prisoners are still languishing in prison, most of them picked up on flimsy charges and tried in camera without benefit of a proper defence or the universally accepted laws of evidence.

The human rights movement in Pakistan is picking up steam but it is still some distance away from what it should be. Our privileged classes don't give a damn because they have never had it so good and indeed it would be foolish to expect them to entertain any grouse against a scheme of things which has served to protect their eroded positions. But even the so-called enlightened middle class hasn't fully woken up to this unprecedented assault on human rights. That is the chief reason for despair.

PAKISTAN

SIND: GRIEVANCES DISCUSSED IN DETAIL

Lahore VIEWPOINT in English 12 Sep 85 pp 28-31

[Article by Shahid Kardar]

[Text] What follows below is an account of the fears, the helplessness, the frustrations, the resentment against the inequitable treatment and the anger of interior Sind conveyed to me during a short stay before Benazir's return. I hope it conveys the anguish of the Sind I witnessed and felt. But before we attempt to examine the grievances of the Sindhis and their present plight, let us briefly recall the historical antecedents of the existing position.

We are not in choppy waters because of an unexpected storm. This storm has been brewing for some time; it is just that its intensity has been felt now because the contradictions in the prevailing set-up have assumed gigantic proportions. Although some elements may have been taken by surprise by the events of 1983, and developments thereafter, the situation (whose gravity has been acknowledged even in conservative political circles) has not come to a head all of a sudden; there is a historical background to where we find ourselves today.

Opposition to One-Unit

The declaration of One Unit was bitterly opposed in Sind. Even the feudal lord was forced to join the anti-One-Unit movement. The waderas, for preserving their social and political status, were under pressure to behave as nationalists by opposing moves which would tend to limit the representation of the Sindhis in the civil bureaucracy and the armed forces.

The abolition of Sindhi, the symbol of nationalist pride, as a medium of instruction in schools aggravated the growing resentment of the local population against the non-Sindhi settlers for reasons enumerated below.

Evacuee Property

After independence the Sind Assembly passed a Bill, on the pattern of the Punjab Act of 1938, calling for restoration to the original owners of about two million acres of land left behind by the Hindus.

This Bill, however, never became law. Almost 40% of this evacuee property, instead of being distributed amongst the Haris, was allotted to the Urdu-speaking urban refugees, thereby creating a class of absentee landlords.

Barrage Lands

Then came the allotment of lands brought under cultivation by the Sukkur, Guddu and Ghulam Mohammad Barrages. From the official records the following information is available on disposal of land under each barrage. Out of the 1,478,000 acres of land commanded by the Ghulam Mohammad Barrage 535,000 acres were allocated to Haris and small khatedars while 866,000 acres were reserved for defence personnel, tribesmen of Frontier and Quetta and settlers from East Pakistan. Out of the 636,000 acres of the Guddu Barrage lands, 336,000 acres were allocated to Haris and small khatedars and 320,000 acres' to defence personnel, Government servants, Frontier tribesmen and displaced persons from the Tarbela and Mangla Dams and Islamabad. Out of the 281,000 acres of the Sukkur Barrage land, 159,000 acres were awarded to Haris and 129,000 acres to personnel of the armed forces and Pathan colonists. How many officials managed to get themselves registered as Haris and small khatedars we will never know. Moreover, hardly any compensation was paid to owners of land taken over for construction of these Barrages.

Non-Sindhi Control Over Urban Centres

A majority of the refugees from India settled in Sind, of whom 70% opted for the urban areas. They were better educated than the local Sindhis and hence filled job vacancies, created by the departure of the Hindus. This factor and the large inflow and subsequent absorption of Pathan and Punjabi labour in the Karachi manufacturing, construction and transportation industry converted the larger cities and towns, especially the relatively prosperous cities of Karachi and Hyderabad, into non-Sindhi strongholds. As a result, the prosperity of Sind was controlled and enjoyed by the non-Sindhis and a handful of large Sindhi waderas.

Irrigation Waters

Rural Sind being an agricultural area, water availability is a critical element for cultivation and there is a long-standing dispute between Sind and Punjab over the sharing of irrigation water and the construction of the controversial Chashma-Jhelum Link. Sindhis have repeatedly sought an equitable treatment. They argue that irrigation canals in the Punjab should only be constructed after Sind's approval and only as long as their construction does not materially affect the flow of the Indus waters in Sind.

The construction of the Mangla and Tarbela Dams also affected the water supply in Sind. Before the dams lands used to get inundated and hence provided livelihood to a fair percentage of the population. This source disappeared with the construction of the dams.

The economic deprivation was worsened by the lack of participation in the decision-making and policy-execution processes.

Poor Representation in the Bureaucracy

In a highly centralised system, and especially one in which the military-bureaucratic combine has ruled for almost 20 years of the life of the nation, an effective participatory role, in advancing regional interests, decision-making and policy-execution, can only be performed through representation in the civil and military services. In this sense obstacles to minority representation in the military-bureaucratic set-up can be alternatively construed as a lack of political representation and hence a negation of the goal to promote national cohesion and unity. The present regime has compounded the complexity surrounding this sensitive issue by creating a 10% quota in the civilian bureaucracies and the governmental sector for those from the armed forces, which in turn have a heavy Punjabi and Pathan representation.

In the Federal Government secretariat and related departments, Punjab has around 56% of the posts, approximately equal to its percentage of national population. Rural Sind has around 3% as against its 14% share of the total population while urban Sind (especially Karachi and Hyderabad), comprising mainly Urdu-speaking Muhajirs and Punjabis, i.e., non-Sindhis, and almost 25% representation as against its 10% share of the national population. In the Government sector Corporations, Punjab has about 41% of the medium and senior-level management posts, urban Sind 47% and rural Sind 3.5%. These figures were compiled on the basis of domicile certificates. But these domiciles do not indicate an individual's real ethnic background. These statistics, therefore, understate Punjabi and Muhajir representation in such institutions.

The PPP Period

The PPP rule markedly changed the depressing state of affairs. Sindhis were appointed to jobs in the local administration and provincial and federal Government bureaucracies. Through political representatives their access to the local administration was considerably enhanced. A feeling developed that for once Sind could shape its own destiny and Sindhis could protect their interests. Although Bhutto's popularity in Sind was a fall-out of his popularity in the Punjab, the PPP Government was regarded a Sindhi government which was wooing the other provinces and using the army and the Punjab. However, no fundamental institutional changes were made. Hence, the displacement of the PPP by the army in 1977 led to a reversion of the pre-PPP situation with considerable ease.

The economy of interior Sind being agro-based, the farm to market roads, improved social services health and education) and electrification of villages did bring about some transformation in rural Sind. However, the most significant changes introduced, apart from general political consciousness, related to the rapid expansion of education facilities through the creation of new colleges and universities. This factor, as will be discussed below, has radically, and permanently, altered the nature of political consciousness in Sind. Another feature of the PPP era was the independence that gave to women—who had been mobilised in large numbers. This was a new phenomenon in Sind. The women are now one of the more military members of society.

After the introduction of Martial Law, the hanging of Bhutto and large-scale dismissals of Sindhis from various administrative posts (one reason being that the regime felt insecure with them in important positions) brought about an end to the participation of Sindhis in the decision-making process. All avenues, to positions carrying or controlling power were closed. The expectations that had been aroused during the Bhutto period were dashed to the ground as Sind was forced into the pre-1971 situation.

Widespread Poverty

In Sind poverty is more wide-spread than in the Punjab where poverty is mostly concentrated in pockets. In the Punjab impoverishment is not that widespread and levels of poverty are also lower. A short visit to both interior Sind and Punjab will confirm this--the disparities are visible.

The reasons for the higher level of poverty in Sind include the following:

i. The concentration of land ownership in Sind is higher than in the Punjab. The bigger Sindhi landlords own far more land than the larger Punjab land-owners.

ii. Rural Sind has historically been lesser developed than the Punjab.

iii. Most of the productive assets (in industry, commerce and real estate) in the urban areas are controlled by non-Sindhis.

A significant proportion of productive assets (land, livestock, tractors, etc) even in rural Sind are owned by non-Sindhis.

v. The limited employment opportunities are grabbed by non-Sindhis migrating into Sind from other provinces.

An extremely sensitive situation is worsened by the multiplier effect. A migrant from the Punjab or Frontier on reaching an influential position either in the civil administration, WAPDA, revenue departments, public works departments (irrigation, PWD, etc), management cadre in other private and public sector enterprises, etc., creates openings, or reserves vacancies, for friends and relatives from home. The new migrants in turn, because of the manner in which our society functions, proceed to cater for the interests of other family members and friends, i.e., a vicious circle comes into operation.

vi. Sind did not share in the Gulf bonanza. Most of the migrants to the Middle East were from the Punjab and the NWFP.

The high incidence of poverty also goes a long way in providing an explanation to the extent of participation in the 1985 elections. Some of the reasons for a decent voter turnout were the same as in Punjab--voting against the more unacceptable faces in the administration prior to the election, voting along factional lines--in response to factional struggles and quarrels between waderas, etc. But a major factor was the price in rural Sind for 20 or more votes--as high as Rs. 10,000. Considering the extent of poverty, households

which could not deliver 20 votes, facing no real alternative choices, were willing to vote for Rs. 10,000. The money eased the burden of poverty. So far as they were concerned the show put up by the regime could be carried on with the actors willing to perform in it. The spectators, if paid to sit through it, would do so without really watching the show and without accepting and applauding the roles of the producers, directors, and actors.

Unemployment Among Graduates

Sind, which represents only 22.5% of the national population produces 11,400 graduates (1981-82 figures) as against 13,700 by the Punjab (1981-82 figures) with 56% of the population. The majority of these graduates come from Karachi. They are mostly non-Sindhi and better placed when competing for jobs against Sindhi graduates from the universities at Jamshoro and Tando Jam and their affiliated colleges. The rapid expansion in education facilities during the PPP Government has placed thousands of graduates in the small job market. The domestic economy's level and pattern of growth and its present employment-creation capacity being what it is, it cannot conceivably provide productive employment to the graduates pouring out of these colleges and universities. It is, therefore, not surprising that over 70% of graduates, even doctors and engineers, from interior Sind are unemployed. Any government would find provision of employment to these graduates a herculean, if not an impossible, task under the prevailing socio-economic system; it carries the seeds of an unmanageable situation. Take for example the two Fauji Sugar Mills and the Fauji, NFC and Exxon Fertilizer production units in interior Sind. They are almost entirely manned by non-Sindhis (mainly Punjabis and those from the Urdu-speaking community). Moreover, the agricultural land around the sugar mills, from where the Fauji mills purchase their sugarcane, is owned by present or retired armed forces personnel. There are also instances in which a 70:30 ratio of Sindhi to non-Sindhi employees (in public sector organizations) prior to 1978 has been reversed to a 70:30 ratio in favour of Punjabis and Muhajirs after the arrival of a senior official from the Punjab or Karachi. These examples portray the aggravating situation faced by the Sindhi unemployed graduates who are being converted into articulate spokesmen of Sindhi disquiet, thus providing a fertile recruitment ground to G. M. Syed's Jiye Sind Tehrik.

Continuing Land Allotments

The old practice of allotment of land to non-Sindhis continues, in 1984, 38,000 acres of cultivable land in Thatta District was given on lease for 30 years at only Rs. 7 per acre to Karachi industrialists and high Government officials or to those with good connections in the civil bureaucracy. Most of the allottees are Muhajirs or Punjabis. Again, land along the 100-mile Super-Highway from Karachi to Hyderabad is passing into non-Sindhi hands.

Poorer Public Sector Services

It is widely believed that public sector services, electricity, telecommunication, railways, etc. serve a smaller proportion of the Sindhi population than

elsewhere. Moreover, it is argued that the quality of these services is poor e.g. whereas there are air-conditioned railcars operating in the Punjab there are no decent railway carriages in Sind.

Lack of Participation in Economic Growth

The natives of the most industrialized province find that not only are the bulk of Sind's resources with non-Sindhis, Sindhis are poorly represented in the working labour class, the provincial civil administration and the professional management class in both private and public sector units, i.e., the vast majority of Sindhis have merely participated as spectators in the economic growth after independence. No wonder, there are a lot of misgivings about the ultimate recipients of benefits from recently discovered oil and gas reserves.

To the Sindhis, therefore, the hospitality they had extended to the non-Sindhi residents has been abused. The guests have taken control over the host's property and belongings and this they had not bargained for.

Widening of Gulf

When the Muhajirs first came to Pakistan they lived in camps and were introduced to Sind by the Government. These factors, the subsequent allotments of evacuee property and the institutionalisation of the non-Sindhi character of the industrial and construction labour force resulted in the non-Sindhi settlers' acquiring and maintaining a separate identity.

The language riots during the PPP rule widened the differences between Sindhis and the Urdu-speaking population. The army takeover and the alleged collaboration of the non-Sindhis with the army and the civil administration during 1983 exacerbated these differences and since then has created a highly charged anti-Punjabi and anti-Muhajir atmosphere. There is, therefore, a feeling of insecurity amongst the non-Sindhis and quite a few have migrated from upper to lower Sind.

Even the political parties sympathetic to the present regime are controlled by non-Sindhis. This has further heightened the ethnic differences making it even more difficult to achieve a compromise and assimilation of the Urdu-speaking population in the Sindhi society.

The 1983 Movement

The 1983 upheaval (not under discussion here) in villages served as an important morale booster and propaganda point for the nationalist forces they made tactical gains, especially because of the repression, during and after the trouble by the functionaries of the regime. Peasants came into the arena of struggle and dispelled the myth that the Sindhis could not fight, leaving the regime less certain than before of the unassailability of the system. The belief that those who died or otherwise suffered during the upheaval did so at the hands of an administration composed of non-Sindhis gave a further boost to the Jiye Sind. The 1983 movement also provided an opportunity to the Sindhis to show their reaction to Bhutto's hanging as they were conscious of their helplessness at not having shown their anger much earlier.

The events of 1983, the intimidation and violence that followed, and the incident at the Thori railway crossing, in which about 50 students are said to have died, have left very deep wounds in Sind. However hard one may try to hide the facts of 1983 and the Thori incident their stench will continue to waft down through the years. Some claim that all questions on what sparked them off have been rendered irrelevant by the sheer horror of the action taken against the people.

All the factors mentioned above appear to have generated a feeling in sizeable section of the Sindhi society that Bangladesh was created because the Punjabi ruling elite, especially the civil and military bureaucracies, refused to accept the right of the Bangalis to form the government at the Centre. Thus, they argue, the existing political structure cannot be relied upon to guarantee the rights of the minority provinces.

Scenario Favouring Jiye Sind

The failure of the 1983 movement to dislodge the regime has made the moderate elements more pessimistic. Punjab's failure, for whatever reasons, to join the movement has made it easier for Jiye Sind to plead that nothing can be achieved by looking for help from a province which claimed to follow Bhutto but opted out of the struggle against the regime. They claim that the Punjab ruling elite will not loosen its grip and hence there is no acceptable alternative to an independent Sind.

Sindhi society has become radicalised to an extent that only nationalistic symbols are accorded recognition. Nationalist poetry is extremely popular and only poets and singers (like Abida Parveen and Allan Fakir) who write about Sindhi nationalism and sing anti-establishment songs are encouraged.

In the prevailing circumstances, the prospects for alleviating the grievances of the vast majority of the Sindhis remain slight. A brief tour of Sind leaves me in no doubt that only 'Baby' (as Benazir is affectionately known in Sind) can bring about a rapprochement among the alienated Sindhis, the Urdu-speaking community and the political representatives from the Punjab. But if the PPP is not accommodated soon, it too may be bypassed in Sind. The sympathy that it enjoys now will obviously not last long if it does not secure a civilian setup and the Sindhis' rights. The mantle of leadership and the control of the hearts and minds of the people will then pass on to the standard-bearers of 'Sindh Desh', the Jiye Sind and all that it stands for. This movement is a growing and pressing factor in a real, entirely grim, political situation. The time scales were out of phase in 1983, but will they be the next time around? Time and forces of history are on their side and flicking a switch will not end this drift because what the Sindhis seek is an urgent and fundamental redress of the regional imbalances.

All this must surely be evident, if not to the military wing, at least to the civilian arm of the regime (especially the Sindhi element). But then I suppose none are so blind as those who do not wish to see. Or is G. M. Syed right after all, when he says that his and the regime's objectives are identical?

Conclusions

Pakistan is endowed with a large enough stock of greedy and naive middle, business, feudal and professional classes whose ignorance is compounded by the Press censorship and the over-ripe words of vituperation reserved for the MRD by the official media. The pro-establishment newspapers insist that there is peace and harmony. I for one do not believe that even similar hopes can be raised on such a heritage. The dilemmas facing the nation are real. They have been highlighted here not merely to score cheap points but simple to draw attention to the threat and its dimensions, born out of a long and twisted history.

The last many years have been spent on strengthening the defences of the laager through harassment and suppression and an orgy of corruption, neoptism and rhetoric. Blinkers have become an essential item of equipment for those plying the system. The events of 1983 and increased external pressure did shift the blinkers but did not tear them away.

The sense of deprivation being felt by the youth in Sind, because of lack of opportunities, presents a warning of the dangers posed by the apparent inadequacy of the political and economic process to solve their problems. In the absence of equitable representative institution, the regional cities can quite easily point to the regional and ethnic background of the central elites. When the central elites, those reaping the major benefits--the land-owning classes, the industrialists and the merchants--and those involved in decision making--the military-bureaucratic group--have disproportionate representation of nationalities, these factors will tend to be highlighted. Admittedly there are historical reasons as well, e.g., infrastructural facilities (education, commerce, etc.), recruitment by the British for their military from certain areas, etc. But taking refuge behind the tatty and timeless phrase 'historical reasons' sustains the suspicion that a lot is being swept under the carpet. These reasons cannot become an excuse for not making concerted and visible efforts to narrow the differentials.

The dissatisfaction has found fairly eloquent spokesmen in the shape of the youth and the intellectuals for whom nationalist slogans can be, and are proving to be, the best rallying cry.

Nemesis now impends as national unity is being damaged almost irreparably. By framing rules which may keep out representative political parties the regime has, with one stroke, tried to eliminate channels for the formation and organisation of public opinion, expressing dissent and seeking an equitable treatment through peaceful mechanisms of accommodation and compromise. It has, therefore, heightened the regional and ethnic frustration and strengthened the hands of militants in the smaller provinces. Its persistence will be chronicled as a distraction from the urgent need to forge national unity in a country which is becoming bitterly divided. The portents for the future are bleak. A continuance of this phase promises unmitigated disaster. It would be naive to ignore the tumult that threatens to descend.

PAKISTAN

IDEA TO SET UP FEDERAL RESERVE FORCE SUPPORTED

Karachi DAWN in English 13 Sep 85 p 15

[Editorial: "The Rationale for a Federal Reserve Force"]

[Text]

THE Federal Interior Minister's statement in the National Assembly last Sunday has not been very helpful in clearing the confusion surrounding the proposed reinforcement of the police forces. While he did not clearly confirm that a Federal reserve police force is to be set up, Mr. Khattak did speak of the need to provide protection to the citizens and fill the vacuum which he believes will be created when the army goes back to the barracks after martial law is lifted. The Minister did not give out any details about the force — assuming one is being established — but he assured the House that no generals or brigadiers would be appointed to head the force and that it would not be used to intimidate political opponents. These assurances will be generally welcome, but it is equally important for the Government to remove the mist of ambiguity over the matter and spell out its plans regarding the proposed reserve force — its establishment, composition, size, function, funding and administrative control.

From an objective point of view, the need is unexceptionable for establishing a reserve police force for use in extra-

ordinary situations to maintain law and order in the country. Such an institution exists in many countries. It is normal practice for Governments to set up a special civilian force held in reserve for deployment in situations warranting reinforcement of the normal law-enforcing agencies in dealing with civil commotion or widespread lawlessness. The United States has its Federal Guards and in India there is the Central Reserve Police Force. Such a force is basically designed for use in emergency and so it must be in our case, too. It is not economically desirable for Provincial Governments to maintain an over-size police force which is bound to remain idle most of the time. A state of indolence such as this is likely to affect the operational efficiency of the force as a whole. The other option in facing up to serious contingencies — that of calling out the army — has also not proved politically prudent in many countries. In our case, it is not advisable to expand the provincial police forces greatly in order to enable them to cope with emergencies, which in any case are not of frequent occurrence. Simple economic logic and a rational approach to resource allocation would not allow it. Already the country is

spending as much as 41 per cent of the revenue budget on administration and law and order in Sind and 38 per cent in Punjab. To increase this would be to further reduce the size of development resources. The alternative, in the case of a serious law-and-order situation, is certainly not to hand over the responsibility to restore order to the army. For one thing, such involvements have implications going far beyond the exigencies of a particular development. For another, the summoning of the armed forces every now and then for such civilian chores tends to undermine the confidence of the police in their own ability to tackle such situations and, in effect, presents them and the civil authorities, which bear the ultimate responsibility for maintaining public peace, in a rather unfavourable light. Even from a practical point of view, by training and orientation, soldiers are ill-suited to handle threats to internal peace. A soldier's basic training is to shoot to kill the enemy and not to scare away or disperse, say, an unruly mob with the use of minimal force. In that context, the formation of a federal reserve force to aid the provincial law-enforcing machinery when necessary provides the answer

and, in fact, is the only rational and economical option available. If organised as a highly professional and efficient agency, the reserve force should prove to be more effective in coping with civil disturbances. Moreover, it would not cost too much since there would be no duplication in every province, and, above all, it should be free from corruption and irregularities which have come to afflict the existing police force.

It must be pointed out, however, that the effectiveness and the general acceptance of a reserve force would depend on how it is operated. The FSF which was set up in 1973 and disbanded in 1977 was known to have been misused to such an extent — it ruthlessly intimidated opponents of the Government and was responsible for grave violations of legality — that it became an object of widespread public hatred. If the new force is misused in the same manner and is employed as a strong-arm apparatus of the Government in power, it would fare no better than its much despised predecessor. In the operation of an agency of this nature the scope for abuse is great. So also can be the temptation to do so. This is where the test of the assurances held out by the Interior Minister on behalf of the Government, will lie. What is more, strong political institutions, such as a freely elected legislature, an independent judiciary, an unshackled Press and the Ombudsman can always ensure that a body set up essentially to enforce law and order does not become an agency of terror and coercion.

CSO: 4600/1

PAKISTAN

JI PROPOSES OWN AMENDMENTS TO CONSTITUTION

Karachi DAWN in English 21 Sep 85 p 2

[Text]

ISLAMABAD, Sept 20: Senator and Deputy Amir of Tehrik-i-Islami, Prof. Khurshid Ahmed, on Friday announced the amendments his group has proposed to be made to the Constitution (Eighth Amendment) Bill 1985, and will submit them to the National Assembly Secretariat, on Saturday. Addressing a joint news conference here at a local hotel, Prof. Khurshid and MNA Usman Ramz appealed to the Parliament, the President and the Prime Minister not to make the bill a matter of prestige and asked them to accept the amendments.

Prof. Khurshid said it had been an accepted practice in the past that an indemnity was given to provide legal protection to the laws and orders issued during the extraordinary circumstances of martial law period. However, he added, never in the history of any nation such complete revalidation of all laws, orders and actions had been made.

Referring to the proposed amendments by Tehrik-i-Islami, he said, "We are giving required legal protection to martial law, which every martial law expects and the parliament also approves as a necessary evil." Also we have presented our amendments to the bill which will make the bill more reasonable, he added.

The following are the amendments as released at the news conference:

●In the proposed bill the words "except section 6 which shall come into force on such day as the President may, by notification in official gazette appoint," occurring in subsection (2) of section 1 be deleted.

●Clause (2) of the bill be deleted.

●In clause (6) of the bill the proposed Article 270-A shall be substituted by the following, namely:

i) The proclamation of the fifth day of July 1977 alongwith the Laws (Continuance in Force) Order 1977, are hereby revoked with effect from the commencing day of Eighth Amendment of the Constitution of 1985. But this clause shall not affect any existing laws made under those orders.

ii) All martial law regulations and martial law orders are repealed with effect from the commencing day of this amendment.

iii) The President's Orders No. 14, 20 and 24 of 1985 are hereby revoked and all the amendments made in the Constitution thereunder are withdrawn. But all orders made, proceedings taken and acts done under the said orders shall, notwithstanding any judgement of any court, be deemed to be and always to have been validly made, taken or done by competent authority and shall not be called in question in any court on any ground whatsoever.

iv) All existing laws, subject to the injunctions of the Quran and Sunnah and the Constitution shall continue in force, so far as applicable until altered, repealed or amended by appropriate legislature.

v) All orders made, proceedings taken and acts done by any authority or by any person, which were made, taken or done or purported to have been made, taken, or done, between July 5, 1977, and date on which this article comes into force, in exercise of the powers derived from any proclamation, President's orders, martial law regulations, martial law orders, enactment, notifications, rules, orders or bye-laws or in execution of or in compliance with any order made or sentence passed by any authority in the exercise or purported exercise of powers as aforesaid, shall, notwithstanding any judgement of any court, be deemed to be and always to have been validly made, taken or done, and shall not be called in question in any court on any ground whatsoever, except where a High Court finds the continuance of a sentence or punishment after the enforcement of this amendment, repugnant to the injunctions of the Quran and Sunnah and the provisions of the Constitution.

vi) No suit, prosecution or other legal proceedings shall lie in any court against any authority, or any person, for or on account of or in respect of any order made, proceedings taken, or act done whether in the exercise or purported exercise or powers preferred to in clause (5) or in execution of or in compliance with orders made or sentences passed in exercise or purported exercise of such powers.—PPI

PAKISTAN

ASSEMBLY MEMBERS' SUPPORT FOR JUNEJO HAILED

Karachi JANG in Urdu 21 Aug 85 p 3

[Editorial: "Positive Attitude of Elected Representatives"]

[Text] The future for the end of martial law and establishment of a democracy based on Muslim ideology appears bright since both houses have shown their united faith in the program proposed by Prime Minister Mohammad Khan Junejo. On Monday, Mr Junejo announced in the Senate that martial law will be replaced with a fully democratic government before 1 January 1986. The faith expressed by the elected representatives in the prime minister's leadership at this announcement not only strengthens Mr Junejo's position but also paves the way for a healthy political atmosphere in our country.

Prime Minister Junejo had clearly indicated in his opening speech to the parliament on 24 March that martial law and democracy cannot live side by side for very long. It was, however, the representatives who had to initiate a plan for lifting martial law. For this reason the issue of recognition of political parties was given a major importance. The fact that all the committees in the Senate and the National Assembly submitted their reports in time for discussion is very comforting. Now it appears that discussions on the recommendations made by these committees are progressing well. It is a foregone conclusion that before long patriotic political parties will be permitted to practice politics and establish a strong communication system between the government and the people. The election held on a non-party basis will be replaced by elections on a party system, and parliamentary affairs will be carried out in an orderly way with more confidence. This is the kind of government system that was being sought even before the elections. Prime Minister Junejo has announced that if these preliminary steps are completed soon the martial law will be lifted by 1 January 1986. General Ziaul Haq is also in favor of lifting martial law at an early date and is giving all possible support. It is assumed that all martial law administrators will be removed from their offices by next month. All these developments are important and welcome signs for a smooth transition from a martial law to a democratic government. The most pleasing aspect is the attitude of our elected representatives at this crucial point in our nation's history. They are acting very responsibly and we should be proud of them. Establishing a democratic government after 8 years of a martial law regime is a very complicated and difficult task. Transfer of power and other unforeseen problems can become insurmountable hurdles. It is fortunate that our elected representatives are aware of the difficult tasks Mr

Junejo has. They are showing their patriotism and political savvy by cooperating with our prime minister. In light of this all, it would not be unrealistic to assume that Mr Junejo will succeed in his efforts within a short period. He wants to be remembered in history as the prime minister who established a democratic system based on Islamic principles in Pakistan.

7997

CSO: 4656/157

PAKISTAN

MENGAL DISCUSSES VIEWS ON CONFEDERATION

Karachi JANG in Urdu 21 Aug 85 p 3

[Interview with Ataullah Mengal, exiled Baluch leader, by Irshad Ahmad Haqani; date and place not specified]

[Text] I would like to share the details of my interview with Sardar Ataullah Mengal, prominent leader and former chief minister of Baluchistan. Mr Mengal has been living in London for the last 8 years in self-imposed exile. I started the interview with the following question:

[Question] Recently you established a combined Sindi, Baluch and Pakhtoon front in London. I am well aware of the reactions to this front in Pakistan and would like to know your opinion on this reaction. What kind of feedback have you received and are you satisfied with it? I am especially interested in your feelings about the reaction in your home, Baluchistan. What did the politicians in London think about this front? How do you view the opinions expressed by the national and the world press? It has been said that you have adopted the idea of an independent Baluchistan and are not thinking about a constitution within the framework of this plan. I would like to know your feelings about the success or failure of this effort.

[Answer] We are not disappointed with the responses so far. Our proposal could have caused a very hostile reaction in Pakistan, but you must have noticed that people who are opposing this idea (of a confederation) are those who want to keep their jobs at any cost. Those people are either working for the government now or are expecting to be employed soon. People in Baluchistan can be divided into two categories. One group agrees with my conclusion that there is no room for small minorities and their rights in the present Pakistan. These people believe that my proposal to establish a confederation within the framework of a united Pakistan is not as strong as my earlier proposal. In other words they think I have adopted a defeatist attitude. The second group thinks that we must find a solution to our problem within the framework of a united Pakistan. This group is very supportive of my new proposal. There is another small group composed of bureaucrats. They want to cling to their jobs and they have opposed my plan. You must have heard from this group a lot.

[Question] Mr Mengal, there is the fourth group--the MRD [Movement for the Restoration of Democracy]. The MRD leadership in Baluchistan does not believe

in a confederation. They have not criticized it directly; they just do not want to be associated with your plan. The MRD leaders living in London, including Miss Benazir Bhutto, have rejected your proposal. Against this background, how can you claim having favorable support for your plan? Also, you are aware that the group that according to you blames you for being backward is very large and wields a lot of influence.

[Answer] This group mostly includes young men who are still in school and are so disappointed by the political situation in Pakistan that they have withdrawn from politics.

[Question] Does a group like this really exist in Baluchistan?

[Answer] Yes, it does exist in Baluchistan. Let me explain myself further. You are aware that the Baluchistan Students Organization (BSO) once played a very important and visible role in Baluchistan and the country's politics. Nobody hears anything about this group now. This organization has disappeared from the political scene during General Zia's regime. Once in a while the name BSO is mentioned in connection with some local problem, but never at the national level. This is the group that calls us defeatists. This group has lost its credibility. It thinks that my politics is not practical. These young men have given up on everything.

As for the MRD leadership, you know a large number of my old colleagues are in the MRD and they know very well that the minorities have no room in the democratic Pakistan. Still they want to experiment on the line of Bangladesh. They believe that Pakistan is a country of miracles and are expecting a miracle that will solve problems of all minorities. Their politics is based on self-deception.

After the Bangladesh fiasco, I expected them to repeat the mistakes that resulted in our country's defeat. My friends in the MRD are also suffering from self-delusion. They want to give the old mistakes another try. When they are with the right people they do admit that there is no future for the minorities in Pakistan's politics. They, however, do not want to contradict the statements issued by the MRD leadership in Pakistan and close the door to their political careers. They are just repeating whatever is being said in Pakistan. They are, however, aware that this kind of politics will not produce any good results. I do not want to mention any names, but several of these leaders have admitted to me that their politics is useless. They do not want to stick their necks out since one day they will be living in Pakistan.

[Question] In other words they are afraid they would have to live in exile like you if they spoke out.

[Answer] Exactly. They know that they should not say anything here that cannot be repeated later in Pakistan.

[Question] Mr Mengal, how strong is the group that calls your attitude defeatist and what kind of barometer do you have to measure their strength?

[Answer] People in various parts of the country live under a variety of social and economic circumstances. There are tribal and feudal societies as well as industrial societies. We have a tribal social system in Baluchistan. Each society has its own age, system and peculiarities. The whole Sindh, except for Karachi and its environs, is in the feudal age while Punjab has fully entered the industrial age. The political future in the industrialized area is bright; it is in its paved streets.

7997

CSO: 4656/157

PAKISTAN

LITERACY: LACK OF ACTION CRITICIZED

Karachi DAWN in English 21 Sep 85 p 7

[Text]

LAMEC, the official agency entrusted with the task of spreading literacy in the country, has taken great strides — not in eliminating illiteracy but in drawing up new programmes with ambitious targets. The latest is a two-year plan which has been framed under the stewardship of LAMEC's new chairman, the third since the commission was set up in mid-1981. This scheme envisages the establishment of 50,000 literacy centres in the country by the end of 1986 — a massive jump from the target of 15,000 which was announced by LAMEC last year. What is distressing is that this agency has yet to show progress in implementing its plans. Its achievement on the ground has been far from satisfactory. Thus, in 1983, 7000 literacy centres were reported to be functioning. Now we are told that their number is only 3000. Given this record, it is difficult to believe LAMEC's latest claim that 14,000 centres will begin functioning by the end of next month. Similarly one has to take with a pinch of salt what this agency has to say about the achievements of the literacy drive launched through the col-

leges in the summer vacation last year. Nearly 100,000 people are said to have been made literate in 1984 and this year's target is 3,50,000. But this sounds incredible since the institutions of higher education have shown no visible signs of activity in the field of literacy.

What really gives rise to concern is that the motivational drive which should have been the central part of the literacy campaign has been missing. Although government leaders have reiterated on a number of occasions the need to improve the literacy ratio, their commitment to education and learning has at best appeared to be a hollow one. One yardstick to measure a Government's commitment to education and literacy is the financial allocation it is prepared to make for this sector. Admittedly, the 1985-86 budget allocation to LAMEC has registered a big jump from Rs 21 million last year to Rs 56.5 million this year. But this is a far cry from what the country needs, given its low literacy rate of 26 per cent. The Sixth Plan has earmarked a sum of Rs 750 million for literacy. The allocations in the first three years amount to only Rs 112.4 mil-

lion. How the Government ever hopes to meet the plan target of imparting literacy to seven million people is not known. In the absence of the political will needed to eradicate illiteracy, LAMEC has gone about its assignment in the standard bureaucratic style. It has not thought much of the task of motivating the 50 million or so illiterates in the country, 2.2 million of whom are supposed to benefit from the latest plan till the end of 1986. The instructors will have to display a sense of mission if the literacy programme is to succeed. The thrust will, of course, have to come from the top since motivating people to learn to read and write is essentially a political task. Once the impulse has been generated LAMEC will have to have in place instructors, reading materials and other aids and appropriately located literacy centres. Given the right degree of motivation, the existence of the literacy organisation on the ground and ample funds at its disposal, LAMEC can in course of time generate a momentum towards accomplishing by degrees the arduous task that has been assigned to it.

CSO: 4600/22

PAKISTAN

MAZARI, GHAFOR CRITICIZE AMENDMENTS BILL

Karachi DAWN in English 13 Sep 85 p 3

[Text] Karachi, Sept 12--Sardar Sherbaz Khan Mazari, former President of the banned NDP, criticising the Constitution (Eighth Amendment) Bill told newsmen at his residence on Thursday that its approval by the National Assembly would undermine the faith of the people in solidarity, integrity of the country, and revival of democratic and constitutional rights of federating units. In fact it would amount to reverting to unitary form of government, he felt.

The bill proposed to validate all the convictions by the martial law courts without any judicial review which included flogging of political leaders and workers during the past eight years.

He expressed the hope that at least some MNAs would make efforts in getting it rejected. If the bill was carried by the House, Mr Mazari said, the nation would not forgive the MNAs who got "unprecedented privileges" from the Government.

Ghafoor Ahmed: The Naib Amir of the banned Jamaat-i-Islami, Mr Ghafoor Ahmed, criticising the bill said it would deprive the people of their individual and collective rights.

In a statement, he said that, if approved, it would be sad chapter in Pakistan's political history, and martial law would continue in civilian form with the head of the State would be wielding all the powers.

The proposed bill would also deprive the judiciary of its constitutional role and the entire cabinet and the National Assembly itself would be at the mercy of one man, he felt.

He also said that the proposed bill was a negation of the Objectives Resolution which was made a part of the constitution by the present government.

He demanded immediate lifting of martial law and rejected attempts to civilianise it.

CSO: 4600/1

PAKISTAN

LEADERS STATE OPPOSITION TO AMENDMENTS BILL

Karachi DAWN in English 21 Sep 85 p 8

[Text]

KARACHI, Sept 20: Leaders of virtually all major political parties — within and outside the MRD — voiced their opposition to the Eighth Constitution (Eighth Amendment) Bill here on Friday.

Leaders of outlawed political parties, including Pir Sahib of Pagara, Mir Ghous Bakhsh Bizenjo, Mr Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi, Shah Faridul Haq, Sardar Sherbaz Khan Mazari, and MNAs and MPAs from Karachi met socially at a dinner hosted by Prof Ghafoor Ahmed, Naib Amir of the Jamaat-i-Islami, on Friday night.

A large number of second-rank political leaders were also present. Most of the leaders at the dinner conversed with newsmen, as there was no "formal agenda" for any political discussion. Prof Ghafoor Ahmed and Mr Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi emphatically denied a report in a local newspaper that political discussions were scheduled to be held behind the closed doors. Mr Jatoi described the report as "mischievous" and "sponsored by interested quarters."

Talking to newsmen, the Muslim League chief, Pir Pagaro, claimed that he had visualised the current political developments at the time of the December Referendum, and requested the people to pray for "a General who would withdraw martial law."

He said 1973 Constitution was no longer intact — "it is finished," he claimed. To a question on his relations with the Government, Pir Sahib replied: "If someone wants to join the Muslim League, I will give him a seat in the Working Committee."

Replying to another question, the Pir described the National Assembly as a "National Metropoli-

tan Corporation" which had neither the powers nor a popular mandate to frame a new Constitution or amend the present one.

Pir Pagara said Pakistan and Israel are "two ideological States," but, he added, the National Assembly was non-party, non-political and without an ideology, contrary to the ideological notion behind Pakistan.

Referring to an offer from Mr Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi, convener of the MRD, Pir Sahib remarked: "I am taking his offer home in my pocket. What Mr Jatoi is proposing today, I suggested some three years ago."

Replying to a question regarding the Prime Minister's link with his party, Mr Pagara said: "Mr Junejo was elected uncontested; nobody opposed him, nor did anyone vote for him. He did not know what would happen after the elections. He was made Prime Minister by General Zia-ul-Haq, though he was a member of the Muslim League." He added: "Mr Junejo is a member of my party, but Gen Zia's Prime Minister."

The Pir said he would stick to his predictions that fresh elections would be held in the country in 1987 and that a fourth martial law was inevitable. He described his forecast as "mere common sense," which two communities, "students and the soldiers," lack.

A questioner asked whether, since his party has control over 80 per cent members of the National Assembly, he would try to exercise his influence on the members. Pir Sahib replied that since he was a Pir, he would like 100 per cent control by snatching the remaining 20 per cent.

On the Amendment Bill, the Pir

said at present he was indifferent. When it was moved in the Senate, of which he was a member, then the people would know his reaction. He denied that he was also a member of the Official Parliamentary Group.

PROF GHAFOR: Earlier, Prof Ghafoor Ahmed said that the conditions in the country were deteriorating. The dinner was not a prelude to formation of a new front, he added.

JATOI: Responding to Prof Ghafoor's remarks, Mr Jatoti said that a broad-based alliance was the need of the hour to protect the integrity and solidarity of the country.

He was of the opinion that the country was passing through the most critical period of its history, in which all political parties, small or big, should unite.

He said he was prepared to go to anyone to beg for unity of all democratic forces at this juncture, adding that the MRD had earlier given other parties six months to join the alliance, but this offer could be extended for further six months. He said he was personally prepared to change the name of the MRD for the sake of a broadbased unity.

He thanked political parties which had extended support to the MRD. He said at present the Jamaat-i-Islami, Jamiat Ulema-i-Pakistan and the Pakistan Muslim League (Pagara Group) shared the same opinion on the Amendment Bill, the lifting of Martial Law and the 1973 Constitution.

MAZARI: Mr Mazari in his remarks said that every citizen of the country should play his role for the preservation of the integrity and solidarity of the country. He said the MRD's contention proved to be correct with reference to the drastic amendments introduced in the Constitution, and it was the responsibility of members of the National Assembly to reject those amendments.

At this stage Mr Ghafoor Ahmed intervened and said that further amendments had been introduced while the House was called for the session. He said it was the responsibility of the heads of political parties to play their due role in the present crisis.

Mir Ghose Bakhsh Bizenjo said that we all are united against the continuation of martial law and all the amendments introduced in the Constitution were wrong and should be rejected.

PAKISTAN

NATIONAL ASSEMBLY MEMBER TALKS IN SUPPORT OF AMENDMENTS

Karachi DAWN in English 21 Sep 85 p 10

[Text]

ISLAMABAD, Sept 20: Mr. Mohammad Akram, MNA from Sialkot, in a statement yesterday said: "The Constitution Amendment Bill is meant to clear the way for the lifting of Martial Law and envisages validating various measures adopted during the period Martial Law was in force.

This is nothing new or extraordinary. It was done in the Constitutions of 1962, 1972 (interim) and 1973. The Bill which is on the anvil is on the same lines and makes no glaring departures. In fact, the Eighth Amendment Bill enlarges the law-making authority of the Parliament.

"Indemnity Clause already exists in the Constitution vide Article 270-A. Its Clause 66 gives complete sovereignty to the Parliament for the amendment of any order mentioned in Clause 1 of the said Article.

"It may, however, be mentioned that this is not so in case of Article 269 of 1973 Constitution concerning Z.A. Bhutto's period. In that case certain laws have been given in Schedule VI of the said Constitution which cannot be amended without prior approval of the President vide Article 268(2) of the 1973 Constitution.

"The Prime Minister Mohammad Khan Junejo has, time and again, asserted that he and his Government is committed to the lifting of Martial Law and we are steadily moving towards that end.

"The Prime Minister is holding discussions with members of OPG and others to ensure consensus on the Bill under discussion. It is the duty of every patriotic Pakistani to extend full co-operation in these efforts for the sake of national harmony and solidarity.

"The National Assembly is engaged in considering the Constitution (8th Amendment) Bill and indications are that various groups are busy in exchanging views with a view to reaching consensus over the issue. The country is awaiting with keenness the results of these deliberations because the people hope that their elected representatives will find the solution according to the national interest. Difference of opinion is nothing unusual and is a part of the parliamentary functions.

"But it is unfortunate that there are some elements outside the Parliament who assuming the garb of constitutional advisers, are spreading mischief and confusion about the intentions and purpose of the Constitution Amendment Bill. Their motives are far from tidy. They want to sabotage the sincere efforts of the elected members of the Parliament to reach an agreed solution. This is primarily the game of the politicians who boycotted the elections and now feel bypassed.

"One of the postulates of the parliamentary democracy is that matters of national importance and constitutional changes are always discussed in the parliament, which consists of the elected representatives of the people. This attempt by frustrated politicians to guide the debate and the members of the parliament from outside, to say the least, is clumsy. These politicians advised the people to boycott the elections but their advice was rejected. Now they feel frustrated and want to make muddy the political waters so that the process of lifting the Martial Law and the transition to complete civilian rule should not be orderly."—APP.

PAKISTAN

NATIONAL ASSEMBLY SPEAKER URGES FISCAL CHANGES

Karachi DAWN in English 21 Sep 85 p 10

[Text]

LAHORE, Sept 20: Syed Fakhr Imam, Speaker of the National Assembly, said on Thursday that structural changes in the national economy and fiscal mechanism had become an immediate need to enable the country to improve internally and to achieve a competitiveness in international market.

Speaking at the annual function of the All-Pakistan Tax Bar Association here last night, Syed Fakhr Imam suggested diversification of industrial production, adequate training of country's manpower, and all-out efforts to raise the level of literacy to meet the tough requirements in the economic field.

The Speaker said the imperatives of economic development were directly related to an increase in industrial and agricultural production, without which the incomes of the people and revenues of the Government would both remain low.

He said big deficit in international trade was a matter of serious concern, which could be solved only through initiating basic structural changes in the national economy.

Mr Fakhr Imam said these changes were all the more essential because the remittances of the Pakistani expatriates, which had previously bridged the trade deficit, were now rather on the lower side.

The Speaker made a mention of the three commissions set up by the Finance Minister with the presentation of the current Budget and suggested that these bodies must also consider the recommendations of the professional organisations like the Tax Bar Association.

He said, national economy had to be tackled by experts since its implications had a direct bearing on the national polity and determined the outcome of the future directions of the society. At the same time the national economy was to be run by the common people, and that was why it became important to raise the level of literacy.

CLEAR-CUT TARGETS: He said there was no doubt that the people of Pakistan had got the potential and the ability to bring their country in line with the other rapidly developing economies of the world. What was needed was fixation or clear-cut targets and evolution of a process to ensure people's participation.

He said the Parliament was one forum where such a process could take birth because here the decisions were taken collectively after thorough debate and discussion. Such a system would also have an inbuilt provision of accountability, and would promote socio-economic and political growth.

Earlier, the President of the All-Pakistan Tax Bar Association, Mr M. Saleem Malik, in an address of welcome, suggested formation of an institute of taxation to advance public education and promote the study of administration and practice of taxation and principles of economic and political science in relation to taxation and public finance.

He also suggested that tax appeals should be heard by an independent forum outside the administrative control of the Tax Department so that tax-payers had complete faith and confidence in the appellate authorities. —APP

PAKISTAN

MAIL CENSORING TERMED 'OFFENSIVE'

Lahore VIEWPOINT in English 12 Sep 85 p 6

[Text] According to an agency report, the Special Branches and the Intelligence Bureau have been authorised, for a period of six months, to intercept, scrutinise and dispose of in transmission or at the place of posting or delivery, all foreign or inland mail "capable of undermining the ideology of Pakistan or inciting a section of the people to bring about changes in the existing political, social or economic order by violence, and all foreign or inland mail comprising obscene and objectionable articles." At the same time, some other Press reports claim that mail has been subject to interception and censorship for quite some time and no new directions have so far reached post offices.

If the latter reports are true, as they appear to be, the need for invoking the Post Office Act of the colonial period at a time when the air is full of promises of a return to normal civilian rule is, to say that least, ominous. Apart from the fact that, in principle, censorship of the kind implied by the Federal directive is in gross violation of fundamental rights which exist independent of legal instruments and are, hence, not liable to suspension, there are practical aspects of the matter which warrant a review of the decision. There could be some reason to censor the mail in times of war or grave emergency. So far as we know, Pakistan is not at war with any country and the state of calm and tranquillity that has been maintained for many years discounts any danger of violent threat to the existing political, social or economic order. There are normal laws to deal with the keepers of obscene or subversive material and there seems to be no reasonable cause to bring private citizens' mail under censorship. Further, one does not know about the calibre of the censoring agencies--whether they understand Authority's purpose and whether the overzealous ones will not overstep the boundaries.

If censorship is to be selective--that is, mail originating from certain sources or destined for specified places or persons is to be censored--the very nature of instructions will bias the mail interceptors. Since the grounds for censorship are vague and include that most diversely interpreted phrase "objectionable articles" the door to abuse of special powers is wide open. Anything originating from sources or meant for addressees considered "undesirable" could be stopped on the way. Further, considering the low efficiency of the postal services the introduction of intermediaries could increase the danger of mail getting lost. For all these reasons we urge the Federal Government to rescind its decision to censor mail and avoid attracting a stigma all good administrations should abhor.

PAKISTAN

COST OF 'WHITENED' WEALTH ANALYZED

Karachi DAWN in English 14 Sep 85 Business Supplement p III

[Article by M. Nawaz Khan, former president of the National Bank of Pakistan]

[Text] A great deal has been written about Special National Fund Bonds by competent and knowledgeable commentators and yet it has not been authoritatively determined how the hidden wealth, that has now come on the surface and joined the mainstream, will affect the country's economy. Its short and long term impact remains, by and large, a matter of conjecture so far.

Many questions still remain unanswered. It is not the intention here to try to find answers to those questions but simply to raise them in the hope that the government, whenever it chooses to take the people into confidence, will provide the answers.

The importance of the amnesty operation, that ended on August 31, demands that its results be thoroughly and objectively analysed by the Ministry of Finance and presented to the nation in the form of a White Paper or at least a statement by the Federal Finance Minister on the floor of the National Assembly.

After all, the nation has the right to know whether, by paying a handsome dividend to operators of black economy, it got something in return in the form of a permanent benefit to the national economy commensurate with the price paid for it.

Economic Activity

In the first instance, it may be clarified that the newly reported wealth will not lead immediately to new economic activity or to the creation of new goods and services, that is, a genuine increase in the GDP. The reason is obvious. The hidden wealth was already employed in production of goods and services in the parallel or black economy.

This point was also conceded by the Finance Minister when he directed the banks to provide credit facilities against the security of bonds but virtually for their initial purchase. Prima facie, it would appear that those who purchased the bonds with their own money had the financial resources for

investment in legitimate economic activities. This view is based on the naive notion that those who brought in cash had hoarded their black millions in the form of currency notes.

Those who accumulate black money do not put it in a sack or under the pillow. They invest it to generate more black money. The fact that they purchased their bonds in cash simply shows that their black money was, in all probability, invested in readily disposable or liquid assets.

Now that their black money has become white, their preference for liquid assets is not going to change overnight. It is, therefore, quite reasonable to assume that there will be no burst of new economic activity in the country just because of amnesty given to hoarders of black money.

However, now that nearly Rs 13.50 billion of black money has become white. The capital base of the economy is going to increase by that amount and consequently officially compiled figures of GDP will also go up. If our line of reasoning is correct, it would be necessary to bifurcate growth of economy in 1985-86 in two parts so that actual growth in GDP is shown separately from merely statistical growth caused by the whitener bonds. Let the credit for growth in GDP go to that agent which actually caused it.

If we assume that even those who purchased the whitener bonds with their own money will subsequently borrow from the banks on the security of their bonds, and there is no reason to believe that they will not, total credit expansion at the rate of 75 percent of the face value of bonds will be about Rs 12.50 billion (latest estimates of total sales being Rs 15 billion).

It has, therefore, been argued that credit expansion, over and above the safe limits approved by NCCC, will have an inflationary impact on the economy with all the consequential harmful effects on prices of goods and services.

In actual fact it may not be so. To appreciate this point let us first understand how the transactions were actually recorded in the books of the bank when bonds were purchased with the help of bank credit. For every 100 rupees bond sold by a bank, it first recorded a cash sale and simultaneously gave a loan of Rs 75 to the bond holder (assuming that he had brought with him Rs 15) against the security of his bond. The bank then credited Rs 90 to government account as sale proceeds of the bond. Thus, at the end of the day, government had borrowed Rs 90 from the bond holder and he had borrowed Rs 75 from the bank.

Since a bank does not keep its surplus cash in its tills but invests it in government securities, it would have reduced its securities portfolio by Rs 75 to lend that amount to the bond holder. In this way while there was a credit expansion of Rs 75 in the private sector, there was a corresponding contraction in the government sector.

As government borrowing from private individuals is non-inflationary, it cannot be argued that sale of bonds with the help of bank credit would be inflationary unless we are prepared to say that money was lying idle with the banks.

The above analysis will also hold good for those cases in which the purchaser brought with him Rs 9 only instead of Rs 15 except that he will be indebted to the bank for Rs 81 instead of Rs 75 only.

When the nature of transactions that took place for each sale is clearly understood, it will be seen that it has an implication for net availability of resources for budgetary purposes. For every 100 rupees bond on which credit facility was availed of by the bond holder, the government got Rs 90 on account of sale of bond and lost Rs 75 because of disinvestment of securities by the banks. In other words net increase in government resources was only 15 percent of face value of bonds.

Even if we assume that out of total cash sales of Rs 3 billion, at least half the bond holders will not avail of any credit facility, the net addition to government resources will not be more than Rs 3.52 billion (1.5 billion plus 15 percent of 13.5 billion).

Actual figures of real additionality in resources, if and when released by government or the State Bank, would be quite interesting and revealing. But in the meantime let us not be carried away by the euphoria created by gross figure of sales.

With the information so far available, it is not easy to estimate how much additional tax revenue will be collected from the black money that has now been declared white. It appears that the Income Tax Department would be quite justified in asking all those who borrowed from banks on the security of their bonds (all those who purchased the bonds with bank credit as well as those who paid cash but availed of credit facility subsequently), to show assets corresponding to their bank loans in their tax returns for assessment year 1986-87.

Those who did not avail of any credit facility will be required to show assets for the full value of their bonds two years later. The assets to be declared in 1986-87 could not be, in our estimate, less than Rs 10 billion and may be as high as Rs 11 billion. We do not know whether the assets declared by the bond holders will be in real estate, stocks, shares, or plant and machinery etc. but all would be income generating assets.

If we assume an average rate of 25 percent of taxable profits, an amount of Rs 750 million could be collected from these assets in the financial year 1986-87. This amount is no more than 7 percent of budget estimates for the current financial year.

A question that may arise in many minds is whether the hounds of Income Tax Department, which the Finance Minister has been threatening to unleash, could not have brought in that much additional revenue if the department had been properly motivated and administratively toned up?

Before attempting an answer to this question, it may be kept in mind that though the performance of CBR, rather the Income Tax Department, has not been very satisfactory during the last three years, 1982-83 to 1984-85,

whatever be reason for it, the Department did achieve an average annual growth rate of over 30 percent during the year 1978-79 to 1981-82.

Those among us who come to the conclusion that a target of 7 percent increase, over and above the normal growth in tax revenues, was well within the reach of CBR would consider the amnesty operation to be unnecessary if it was to be evaluated solely from the point of view of addition to tax revenues.

Others may have a different view. They may even consider the above estimates of additionality in tax revenues to be too conservative. We would rather suspend judgement on this issue and wait for the presentation of budget estimates for 1986-87 when the government may decide, hopefully, to enlighten us on the subject. It would also be interesting to find out how much potential revenue was lost by extinguishing proceedings in pending cases of income and Wealth Tax assessments and evasion of Customs and Excise duties. Our apprehension is that we may never know these figures.

Redemption

Finally, there is the question of redemption of SNF Bonds in August 1987. Quite obviously, it will not be possible to redeem the bonds with any surplus in current revenues since no surplus is envisaged in next two years. The government may therefore, be obliged to float a new loan, in some form or other, to repay the bond holders.

As the new loan will not be linked with whitening of any black money, it will have to be offered at market rate of interest rather than concessional rates. That would make the loan quite costly.

Another avenue for raising funds for redemption of bonds is also open to government if it chooses to follow it. Payment to bond holders will be made through the banks to whom almost all the bond holders will be indebted on account of credit facility afforded to them by the banks. The banks will adjust the loans with interest and pay the balance, if any, to the bond holder. The banks will be, therefore, flush with money when bonds are redeemed, and the government may take advantage of that by directing the nationalised banks to invest the surplus funds in government securities.

In this way, despite the payment of Rs 15 billion, not much will really go out of government account just as real additionality to budgetary resources was no more than Rs 3 to 3.5 billion despite a net sale of over Rs 13.5 billion. We will have to wait for an answer to this question till August 1987.

It may be added, as a postscript, that while government has filled its coffers with the flood of black money, nationalised commercial banks (and the investment banks) have been left high and dry. With so much black money itching to come out in the daylight from its subterranean abodes, something could have been done for the banks also.

If the protection and concessions given to purchasers of SNF Bonds were also extended to those who would have settled their overdues with the banks during the amnesty period, that is, July and August, the banks too would have reaped a bonanza.

We can only sympathise with the banks and say "Better luck next time". The banks can, of course, put moral pressure on those who, while choosing to remain defaulters, have purchased whitener bonds.

CSO: 4600/1

PAKISTAN

REPORT TERMS BIHARIS' PLIGHT 'TRAGEDY FOR ISLAM'

Commentary on Situation

East Burnham ARABIA: THE ISLAMIC WORLD REVIEW in English Aug 85 p 19

/Text/

That the plight of Muslims in a Muslim country should await the intercession of a British Lord to come anywhere near a solution is symptomatic of the tragedy and deep abyss in which the Muslim world finds itself today. For the problem of the Bihari Muslims is not a "humanitarian" problem like the Ethiopian famine for example, for which leaders can shift responsibility to nature or to the imperialists, but is a tragedy for Islam and the Muslims in our time.

For Muslims who have left their homes and property in search of the Islamic dream to find themselves as unwanted refugees in a country that claims to be Muslim, and forsaken by the country they have chosen to offer their lives for, twice, is the ultimate betrayal of the umma and its values. All the people who are responsible for this betrayal must forsake forever not just the prerogative of speaking for the Muslims but the very claim of belonging to this umma, which puts faith first and every other consideration a very remote second. There is no name for this infamy, no excuse for it, no justification whatsoever. In the hearts of the Muslims, all those who were part of this horror will be forever branded by the shame they have brought on the name of the Muslims.

Imagine the early Muslims, who abandoned everything to attend to the building of the new Muslim umma in Madinah, being turned into aliens in the land of Hijrah by some kind of nationalist apostasy or other tribal abomination. What would have been left of Islam then? The modern-day betrayal we are now discussing is no less radical, in that it has set back the dream of a united Muslim umma by centuries.

When we first conceived the idea of this report, we were impelled by the anger and rage at this infamy which appeared to be dragging on for ever. We are glad that by the time we compiled the report a more optimistic note could be sounded, and a solution now appears closer than ever before.

But even the solution is as shameful as the problem. It is the culmination of the infamy, in that it is the final and definitive abandonment of hope — in the homeland that was supposed to be Muslim — by those who have not only given everything they had for the sake of building it, but actually contributed much to making it what it is. It is also too little, too late. Unspeakable horror and suffering could have been averted if the obvious had been done in time.

As usual, the Muslims have blamed everybody but their own evil selves for the tragedy of the secession of East Pakistan. However, outsiders only rightfully exploited the petty squabbles of so-called Muslim leaders, who were so short-sighted that they could not see beyond their claims to power. The blame lies squarely with the demagogues of Bengali nationalism, who believed that being rulers of a poor emasculated nation under foreign tutelage is preferable to being citizens of a prosperous and larger Muslim community. Along with the neglect by the ruling elites in Pakistan of their less well-off brothers, this was the first move in the downward spiral of betrayal of Islamic values that has resulted in the infamy in front of us today.

The lesson of it all, if we still have ears and minds, is to be ever more rigorous in self-criticism and ever more conscientious in implementing and embodying Islamic values. Modern nationalism, with its blind and bigoted egotism and ethnocentrism, cannot embody the spirit of Islam. If ever there is to be nationalism in Islam, it must be one in which nations vie with each other in serving and which loves its brothers from other ethnic groups. We cannot in Islam condone tribalism.

If a group is formed within the Islamic umma that puts the interests of its members before the good of the umma, and thus by its very establishment puts itself in conflict with the rest of the Muslims, then it has taken the first step to the door that marks an exit from Islam. We hope our modern Muslim nation-states will be deterred from this, but we are still waiting for signs that what they are competing for is the good of the umma—not material signs.

The Bihari Special Report was prepared by Aslam Abdullah in London with additional reporting from Mazhar Siddiqi in Jeddah and contributions from correspondents in Dhaka and Islamabad.

Background Explained

East Burnham ARABIA: THE ISLAMIC WORLD REVIEW in English Aug 85 pp 20-21

[Text]

There in the suburbs of Dhaka, not very far from the huge national assembly building where in December 1983 the foreign ministers of Muslim countries discussed the Muslim world's problems, live a few thousand Muslims in camps overlooking the houses which once belonged to them. Muslim Bengalis call them Biharis, a term which is used to describe all Urdu-speaking people, but these camp dwellers prefer to be called stranded Pakistanis.

They were citizens of Pakistan until 1971. After the creation of Bangladesh they refused to be identified as Bangladeshis, and since then they have been demanding the right to live in Pakistan as fully-fledged citizens. They live in camps because after the surrender of the Pakistani army to India their houses were confiscated by the Bangladeshi government and they were forced to leave their homes. They were the victims of hatred — against all those who stood for a united Pakistan and supported the army — which swept Bangladesh after independence. They were provided with temporary shelters in Dhaka and elsewhere which has become their semi-permanent homes.

There are approximately 300,000 Biharis living in 66 camps, which are often described by visitors as unfit even for animals. A family of six or eight people share a small room covering an area of six

square feet, and barely exist on aid supplied by the government of Bangladesh. The majority of the camp dwellers are unemployed, as they find it difficult to secure work due to their background, the legacy of which still lingers on in the Bengali mind. There is no medical services in most of the camps. The Rabita has opened a small hospital with limited facilities in the Geneva camp, Dhaka. There are no arrangements for education. Some elderly people with reading and writing teach children voluntarily, either in the camp mosque or by the roadside.

Up to 1971, most of their lives were very different. They had jobs or small factories and shops to support their families. But this all changed suddenly, and within a few months the Biharis found themselves displaced for the second time in less than three decades. The first time they voluntarily left their ancestral place was in 1947, when the desire to live in a Muslim homeland brought them to East

Pakistan. The 1947 migration, which involved nearly 1.5 million people, was partly forced by the Massacres of over 35,000 Muslims by Bihari Hindus between October 30 and November 7, 1946.

In East Pakistan the Biharis found themselves absorbed in small trades, public services and skilled work. Their identification with Muslim Pakistan rather than Bengali or Punjabi Pakistan created tensions with the local community; in 1970, relations further deteriorated when most Biharis supported the pro-Pakistan parties in the elections, in contrast to the popular support for a Bengali nationalist movement led by the Awami League.

When the proposed national assembly elections were postponed by the Pakistani dictator General Yahya Khan in March 1971, Bengalis who identified Biharis as a symbol of Pakistani repression started attacking their properties in Jessore, Khulna, and Saidpur; in Chittagong alone, 300 people were hacked to death. Army intervention came on March 25 but by then thousands of Biharis had already been killed. The situation for Biharis became even worse after the arrest of Mujib by Yahya Khan.

With the creation of Bangladesh the Biharis found themselves in an anomalous position. Those who were prosperous and well-connected in the civil services were taken to India, then Pakistan, along with the Pakistan army, but ordinary Biharis, mainly small businessmen, shopkeepers, peasants and junior government officials, were left behind. Most of them were arrested and their houses and shops were confiscated by the government-backed militia. The Indian army withdrew on January 27, 1972 and Bangladeshi soldiers and paramilitary Mukti Bahini, acting on Sheikh Mujib's orders, raided the Bihari area in Mirpur to search for arms. Hundreds of people were killed in the battle that ensued on January 29.

Those attacks have not stopped since, though their frequency has been reduced. Fourteen years after the creation of Bangladesh the Biharis are still often called miscreants or collaborators by Bengalis, a major reason being that the Biharis themselves don't want to become part of Bangladesh. Also, despite statements by Bangladeshi leaders such as Sheikh Mujib or Ziaur Rahman that the Biharis would be given the country's nationality if they demanded such, nothing concrete has been done to resettle them. The government of Bangladesh has never made it clear that it would return their houses and shops forcibly occupied after independence.

However, a strong reason for the prevailing uncertainty about the Biharis' future is the often talked of Tripartite Agreement, which in reality is essentially a bilateral agreement between India and Pakistan of August 1973 dealing with the

repatriation of Pakistani prisoners of war and other civilians stranded in India or Pakistan. The agreement is called tripartite because it has the consent of Bangladesh, though not the signature of Sheikh Mujib. The agreement specified that Pakistan would receive only three categories of non-Bengalis: those domiciled in West Pakistan, employees of central government and their families, and members of divided families. Thus Pakistan did not feel obliged to accept those non-Bengalis who opted for Pakistan, but morally it agreed to accept an unlimited number of non-Bengalis on humanitarian grounds.

The repatriation of non-Bengalis began immediately after the signing of the agreement. The United Nations High Commissioners for Refugees (UNHCR) organised the repatriation operation, and by the end of June 1974 a total of 108,750 non-Bengalis were transferred to Pakistan. This left some 350,000 Biharis stranded in Bangladesh, as in all 470,000 people had requested repatriation with the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC). From 1974 until now, more stranded people have gone to Pakistan, some legally, others illegally. They either crossed over to India en route to Pakistan or went to Nepal, to be airlifted to Karachi.

Many Biharis say that they come under the second and third categories of the agreement. Some of them were employees of Pakistan's Eastern Railways and therefore have the right to go to Pakistan; similarly, about 75 per cent of families are said to be divided as some family members have already gone to Pakistan. Others who do not come under any of the three categories say that they should be treated as cases of hardship because nothing is left for them in Bangladesh.

Since 1974 several attempts have been made by the Biharis to divert the world's attention towards their problem. Occasionally their leaders have threatened to organise a long march to Pakistan via India, or to mobilise mass self-immolation. It was only in 1982 —

when the International Council of Voluntary Agencies held an international conference in Geneva on December 13-14 under the chairmanship of David Ennals MP — that there was any response to the problem. The conference, attended by 23 voluntary organisations and the Bangladesh government, besides the ICRC and the UNHCR, requested the UN agencies, particularly the United Nations Development Programme, to assist the governments of Pakistan and Bangladesh in every possible way towards a solution of this human problem.

However, little initiative has come from the United Nations. The UNHCR does not regard Biharis as refugees as they do not qualify for their classical definition of refugees, but the UNHCR could definitely become involved in the repatriation process as it was involved in 1973 at the request of the secretary general. The United Nations resolution passed in 1973 does not limit the role of the UNHCR to a limited period, rather it extends it to the solution of a still unresolved problem. But it is the involvement of the Organisation of the

Islamic Conference and other leading Muslim organisations which is most desired by Biharis. The OIC has discussed the problem in the past, and many of its members and officials have visited the Bihari camps in Dhaka and elsewhere, but so far nothing concrete has been suggested.

The Biharis feel that as long as they are not shifted to Pakistan they should be given enough relief to live a reasonable life, but little help is coming from either Muslim countries or international organisations. The Rabita has organised several relief operations, while others have merely watched and listened to the agony of the stranded Pakistanis. The Bihari's organisation, the Stranded Pakistanis General Repatriation Committee (SPGRC) suggested that Pakistan should arrange this relief before the final repatriation, but as of yet there has been no response. Meanwhile, life in the 66 camps continues to be as gloomy as ever. Sometimes there is not enough money to bury the dead; often there is not enough food to feed the infants, many of whom have died during the 13 years of agony.

Repatriation Committee Head Interviewed

East Burnham ARABIA: THE ISLAMIC WORLD REVIEW in English Aug 85 pp 22-23

/Text/



Muhammad Nasim Khan is the chief patron of the Stranded Pakistanis General Repatriation Committee (SPGRC) formed after the creation of Bangladesh. Nasim Khan worked as a railway guard on Pakistan Eastern Railways before 1971. Together with Muhammad Ibrahim (who once worked with the founder of Pakistan, Muhammad Ali Jinnah in the Muslim League) he has been campaigning on behalf of the stranded Pakistanis. Nasim Khan spoke to *Arabia* about current problems, and future action, if the repatriation is cancelled.

Why do you insist on returning to Pakistan?

Each and every man wants to have a home and an honourable place in society. He wants his children to grow up as worthy citizens of his native land. We have lost everything. We have been deprived of our hearth and home. We are living under sub-human conditions. Nobody cares for

us. Our future is gloomy. A generation is already lost and another one is on the way to destruction. We cannot learn our mother tongue in school and college. Our children have been forced to discontinue their studies and do odd jobs. In 1971 we were citizens of Pakistan but in 1985 we are stateless aliens and objects of pity and ridicule. In 1971 when East Pakistan was seceding from Pakistan, we supported Pakistan and suffered for this during and after the civil war. About five hundred thousand were reported to have been killed. Their properties were confiscated, services liquidated, and their rights scrapped, as mills, factories, and business establishments were seized. We were left with nothing but a strong feeling for Pakistan.

We sacrificed our lives, properties, honour and prestige in 1947 when Pakistan came into existence and in 1971 we lost everything in an attempt to maintain the integrity of Pakistan. These are strong reasons for seeking repatriation to Pakistan.

Are you satisfied with the policy and attitude of the governments of Bangladesh and Pakistan towards the problem?

Bangladesh raised the issue in the last session of OIC Conference in Sana'a and requested OIC members to tackle the matter seriously. General Ershad himself made it clear during his visit to Saudi Arabia that the stranded Pakistanis would

be repatriated as soon as possible. Pakistan has not yet declared openly its policy on the issue. President Zia ul Haq has promised that he will refer the issue to the Cabinet. He has also said that enough funds must be raised for the rehabilitation of the people going to Pakistan from Bangladesh. But there has been no exchange of official communication between Pakistan and Bangladesh on this issue.

Let me cite an example of Pakistan's attitude. Recently we read a news item in an Urdu daily that the parliamentary cabinet would decide whether the stranded Pakistanis would be brought to Pakistan or not. It seems that the problem is still pending. Pakistani officials have argued that after the creation of Pakistan,

Biharis migrated to East Pakistan, considering it their homeland. They are therefore Bangladeshi and must stay in Bangladesh. They have also said that Bangladesh is a Muslim country and Biharis are Muslims. So Bangladesh must accept them.

But we say that we didn't migrate to settle in Bangladesh. In 1947 East Pakistan was not a country but a province of an ideological homeland named Pakistan and was internationally recognised as such.

Would you accept the citizenship of Bangladesh?

Our people are not mentally prepared to stay in Bangladesh. Our repatriation to Pakistan is the only solution. We opted for Pakistan when we were given the opportunity to choose our citizenship in 1973.

Suppose Pakistan does not take you back. What will be your next moves?

No surrender even if you are bodily lifted and thrown into the Bay of Bengal; we will review our deferred programme. It has included mass suicide by burning, hunger strike unto death, a second Long March, and boycott of relief.

Have there been any negotiations between SPGRC and the government of Pakistan on the issue?

There is no direct negotiation between SPGRC and President Mohammad Zia ul Haq on the issue of repatriation. When I visited Pakistan in 1983, I met several eminent leaders who offered us their cooperation. In 1985 Aftab Quazi, the Governor of the State Bank of Pakistan, along with the Ambassador of Pakistan in Bangladesh, visited the Geneva Camp, Mohammadpur, Dhaka and saw our pathetic condition. They explained, "If

President Zai ul Haq agrees to bring you back then we will seek cooperation for the mobilisation of funds." Whatever negotiations have taken place they have not yet resulted in any concrete plan of action.

Do you still face intimidation from some Bengali sections?

It is unfortunate that even 13 years after the creation of Bangladesh we are still living in a state of fear. In the month of Moharram last year, many in Mirpur, Dhaka, lost their lives and properties at the hands of organised mobs of over twenty thousand local people. The police did not do much. Three persons were killed, 22 are still missing and 500 were injured. Some 240 houses were set on fire and 21 women were manhandled. This happened only recently. Attacks on our camps are not unusual. Some of the

affected camps are: Sheheed-e-Millat Camp, Society Market Camp, Azizia Madrasa Camp, and the Medical Camp. Besides the camps are in extremely poor condition. Nine camps at Rangpur are in an extremely battered condition. No arrangement for their repair has been

made by the government. A similar position exists all over Bangladesh. Mymensingh and Khalispur (Khulna) are the worst, quite unfit for human habitation. Miscreants and bad elements of these areas interfere with, and disturb, camp inmates at frequent intervals — young girls are the target of their attacks.

There were reports that some people have converted to Christianity. Are they true?

Many children whose parents were killed after the fall of East Pakistan were adopted by Christian missionaries. We do not allow such missionaries into camps. repatriation that they feel that if they do not believe it, they cannot be disappointed.

Doubts have been raised in many quarters about Pakistan's capacity to absorb its own lost citizens. Some newsmen, particularly from India, have suggested that the resettlement of stranded Pakistanis in the Punjab and Sindh might create regional tensions and aggravate prejudices in an already highly-volatile situation in Pakistan. These doubters are ignoring the fact that Pakistan has generously absorbed many previous migrants — to the extent that many of them were given shares in land and property by the natives of Punjab and Sindh in 1947. Also, in 1974 when nearly 6,000 stranded Pakistanis from Bangladesh were brought to Pakistan the Punjabis and Sindhis accepted them as their own brothers. Furthermore, over 4 million Afghan refugees have been present in the country for the last five years and the people in general have remained sympathetic to them.

After the resettlement, the main problem of the government of Pakistan

will be to find jobs for the people. Those who have skills might opt to join their countrymen who have flocked to the Gulf. Others may initially be absorbed as labourers in their own construction project, to be given training in various skills at a later stage. Lord David Ennals, member of the House of Lords in Britain, who has been prominent in the struggle to solve the problem, has suggested that the repatriation should be phased: initially, those people should be brought from Bangladesh who may work as construction workers on building their own houses. Some of the people were once employed by Pakistan Eastern Railways. They may be absorbed in the railway services.

Stranded Pakistanis are willing to accept anything that may give them a stable place in Pakistan. For that reason many of them have suggested that before the resettlement they should be briefed about the people and the culture of the area where they are likely to be settled. This, in their view, will promote better mutual understanding. The stranded Pakistanis feel that adjustment to the local environment should not be a big problem, as they have much in common with the locals: religion, language and some cultural traits are shared. In Pakistan there already exists a sympathetic climate for the stranded Pakistanis. Almost all the political parties are committed to their resettlement. More than half of the members of the present national assembly have favoured an early return. Moreover, the Pakistani media have also been urging the leadership to accept them as soon as possible. All this has created a congenial atmosphere for the resettlement.

/Boxed item on p 22/ The good news: SPGRC reaction

The Stranded Pakistanis General Repatriation Committee (SPGRC) held its sixth annual session in April behind closed doors as the government of Bangladesh had refused permission to convene an open conference. Two hundred and twenty-five delegates attended the three-day conference, which passed a total of 14 resolutions. The conference was attended by the special representative of the Muslim World League's secretary general, Justice Afzal Cheema, by the Iranian ambassador in Dhaka, the

representative of the Social Reform Society of the Islamic World Committee, Kuwait and Lord David Ennals, member of the House of Lords and Chairman of the British Council of Refugees for Asia.

Justice Afzal Cheema, who acts as liaison between the Muslim World League and the government of Pakistan on the issue, informed the delegates that an agreement between the Muslim World League and the president of Pakistan has been reached and now there was no hurdle to the speedy

repatriation of the stranded Pakistanis. The SPGRC suggested that it should be consulted in preparing the plan for repatriation.

The conference asked the Bangladesh government to appoint an impartial enquiry committee to investigate cases of corruption in the disbursement of relief to the stranded Pakistanis. It also appealed to all Muslim governments and international organisations to donate funds towards repatriation work. One of the resolutions asked the UNHCR to treat and accept the Biharis living in 66 camps as world refugees.

Transportation, Other Problems Discussed

East Burnham ARABIA: THE ISLAMIC WORLD REVIEW in English Aug 85 p 23

/Text/

☉ If it happens it will be the second largest migration to Pakistan. The first took place in 1947 when nearly eight million Muslims left their ancestral homes in India for the newly-created Muslim homeland. The second involves the realisation of a thirteen-year-long-dream for over 250,000 such Pakistanis. Pakistan has at last agreed in principle to accept as its citizens the erstwhile East Pakistanis living in Bangladesh. Muslim organisations, notably the Muslim World League, are now making determined efforts to raise enough money to airlift the lost children of Pakistan and to arrange for their maintenance. A plan to resettle them in Sindh and Punjab has already been envisaged. Austria's largest project management and consultancy company, the Austrian Building Company (ABC) Asia, has prepared a blueprint for the construction of some 36,000 houses for the people who have come to be known as the stranded Pakistanis in Bangladesh. The construction, which will take nearly three years to complete, will be undertaken in cooperation with Pakistan's National Construction Board.

The Austrian Building Company, Asia, has built universities in Uganda and Jordan besides being involved in various construction projects in Saudi Arabia, Qatar and Bahrain. The company has been promised £278 million by Saudi businessmen to be spent on the construction. A charitable trust has been formed to look after the project with

Pakistani businessman N A Farooqui and Vienna-based official of the ABC, George Copper, as the co-chairmen. High-level negotiations with the government of Pakistan and other officials are taking place at regular intervals and it is most

likely that the charitable trust may include names such as Agha Khan, Tinku Abdur Rahman and the Sultan of Brunei.

The Muslim World League is expecting to raise money to airlift the stranded people from Dhaka to Pakistan. Pakistan International Airlines, Kuwait Airways, Saudia and Iran Air are probably the airlines that will carry the majority of people. Funds for the resettlement of stranded Pakistanis are likely to come from Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and other Gulf countries. Some international voluntary organisations have also promised to organise relief work once the people are resettled in their new homes. Some assistance may also come from the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) which was approved by Pakistan in the past.

A detailed programme for the repatriation has yet to be drawn up. President Zia is said to have assured the secretary-general of the Muslim World League, Dr Abdullah Nasseef, of his readiness to welcome his forgotten countrymen. Only the paperwork remains to be done. Muslims from Bihar who have settled in the United States and the United Kingdom and who have been involved in the efforts to settle the issue, feel that the

end is in sight. Many have also promised to raise funds for the project.

The stranded Pakistanis themselves, though hopeful, are not yet ready to believe that their struggle is nearly over. Many of them, including their leaders, say that only after boarding the plane to Pakistan will they believe that they are returning to their home. The misery of the last 14 years has probably made them a little cynical; and many are so overwhelmed by the precious prospect of


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Muslim World League Official Interviewed

East Burnham ARABIA: THE ISLAMCI WORLD REVIEW in English Aug 85 p 24

/Text/

The Makkah-based Muslim World League has been actively involved in settling the stranded Pakistani repatriation issue. The League has organised relief work in the 66 camps where most of these people have been living since 1971, and its Secretary-General Dr Abdullah Nasseef is taking a personal interest in the matter. Here he speaks to our correspondent in Makkah

 **What has been the result of your talks with the government of Pakistan on the subject of stranded Pakistanis?**

The Rabita al Alam al Islami has, for quite a long time, been involved in solving the problem facing the stranded Pakistanis in Bangladesh. President Zia ul Haq has accepted the idea of absorbing all of them but only gradually, provided that money is raised to cover the expenses. The fund raising is possible, and the government of Pakistan has decided that Rabita should take over the responsibility for resettling the stranded people in Pakistan.

What has been the result of talks held with the Bangladesh government?

Dr Syed Amin Al-Attas, Rabita's assistant secretary-general, has visited Bangladesh to study the problem in its entirety. He has obtained facts and figures about the stranded people to be shifted to Pakistan.

What are the plans for resettling them?

We will build reasonably good houses for them, suitable homes, but of course neither large nor luxurious; it will be up to them to repay or not to repay the expenses incurred, or if they like they can repay part of the expenses. Rabita will also provide money to help them resettle, search for a job or start a profession.

These people will start a new life. They are hard working and intelligent people; most of them are skilled, according to the statistics we have with us. Several groups of them have already been absorbed in Pakistan, and many have stayed in Bangladesh. I don't think they are the type of people who will be totally dependent on the country in which they will be staying.

Is it true that Bangladesh is alone bearing the cost of their maintenance?

The Bangladesh government has spent a good deal of money on these camps by way of providing electricity, water, medical care and relief for emergencies. It may not be enough but it is a great effort.

It has been suggested that some stranded Pakistanis be settled in the Gulf and other Muslim countries. How do you see this?

Yes, there has been a scheme whereby some of the skilled workers and ordinary labourers may be absorbed in several Islamic countries. Contacts for this purpose have to start immediately.

What is Rabita's strategy to generate funds for resettlement?

There exists a joint committee for this purpose. As soon as the committee finalises the preparatory work, we will contact organisations and individuals for their contributions.

The problem of Pakistanis in Bangladesh has, it seems, been transferred to the Rabita. What are the reasons for this?

No, the problem has not been transferred to us, rather we have taken over part of the responsibility. The Organisation of the Islamic Conference should be involved in it and it will remain involved in

it one way or another until the problem is completely solved. We have been executing the work only. I don't think OIC would ever avoid its responsibility.

Were any decisions taken on the problem in the last Islamic foreign ministers' meeting held at Sanaa?

During the Dhaka Conference in 1983 we issued a memorandum to the participants and we did the same for the Sanaa meeting. The participants are well aware of the problem. Also, many ministers of the Islamic governments have already visited the camp where the stranded Pakistanis are living. All agree that the problem should be solved as soon as possible.

Which Islamic countries have so far helped the stranded Pakistanis?

The government of Saudi Arabia has taken a very active interest in the welfare of these people. It has given numerous donations.

Do you know of any violations by any of the signatories — Pakistan, Bangladesh and India — to the Tripartite Agreement?

The agreement has provided a framework to solve the problem. I don't think there have been any violations.

How do you view this peculiar problem and distinguish it from others facing the Islamic nation?

This problem of the stranded Pakistanis in Bangladesh is one of many facing the Islamic nation. Such problems arise only as a result of non-adherence to the principles of Islam. But when Muslims realise the cause of their sufferings they promptly react: they then resort to the principles of Islam and deal with the matters in their true perspectives, realistically, on the basis of these principles. By the grace of Allah, it has been proved that Muslims can deal with their problems responsibly.

/Boxed item on p 247 An open door

Pakistan's finance minister has reaffirmed his government's willingness to allow the stranded Pakistanis in Bangladesh to resettle in Pakistan provided the cost of transportation and rehabilitation is borne by some international organisation or any friendly country. Speaking in the Pakistan National Assembly in June, the minister said that the Muslim World League was committed to raising the necessary funds for the repatriation; as soon as the funds became available the Biharis would be settled in different provinces.

Dr Mahbubul Haq also said that so far 166,144 Biharis have been settled in Pakistan, and Pakistan has fulfilled all the conditions laid down in the 1973 Tripartite Delhi Agreement. The finance minister, however, made it clear that Pakistan was ready to receive the additional Biharis.

British MP Talks About His Initiative, Efforts

East Burnham ARABIA: THE ISLAMIC WORLD REVIEW in English Aug 85 pp 25-26

[Text] *Former British MP Lord Ennals has been behind the scenes in seeing the Bihari problem through. He was the first to raise the issue with the concerned authorities in India, Bangladesh and Pakistan in 1972, and since then he has made several visits to the sub-continent and Saudi Arabia. In 1982 he organised an international conference on the Biharis. He is hopeful for an early return of the forgotten community to its homeland, and believes that the humanitarian approach of all concerned has brought the issue into the limelight to such an extent that individuals, organisations and governments are now ready to finance the repatriation project. David Ennals spoke to Arabia in London before his visit to Jeddah and Pakistan*

● I became aware of the problem very early, in January 1972. The Biharis had lost their jobs and property and were forced to move into camps where they were subjected to a great deal of harassment. I felt disturbed about the conditions under which they were living. At that stage they numbered about 600,000. The camps they were living in were temporary structures, overcrowded and with appalling conditions.

In April 1972 I undertook my first mission. At that time there was a network of problems — there were 400,000 Bengalis who were in what was left of Pakistan, and they wished to return to Bangladesh; there were prisoners of war in India. So, among others, I saw Mrs Gandhi, Mr Bhutto and Sheikh Mujib and spoke with them about an agreement under which people could be relocated. At that stage Bhutto told me that he was prepared to negotiate on the basis of one for one, but it didn't work out that way. Following the Tripartite Agreement, they worked out categories which led, over the first few years, to around 160,000 of the Biharis being settled in Pakistan.

I took up the matter again when it became clear that there were still hundreds of thousands, I suppose the figure was probably 350,000, of people who had either not returned to Pakistan or who had not settled in Bangladesh, and were still in camps. By then they were

calling themselves stranded Pakistanis and not Biharis. They were waiting to be accepted by Pakistan.

I then saw President Zia on my second mission in 1981 and presented him with this dilemma. Before seeing him I met with many senior officials including the foreign secretary, cabinet secretary and head of the foreign office, as well as the foreign minister. Their line was "We have fulfilled our obligations under the Tripartite Agreement and it is now the task of the Bangladeshi government to resettle them." I didn't dispute that they had fulfilled their legal obligations, but I said to the president, who was then chairman of the Islamic Conference, that this was a humanitarian issue and these people are devout Muslims. They are dedicated to returning to what they consider their homeland, they don't want to settle in Bangladesh. The president agreed that it was a humanitarian problem.

Subsequently, the then foreign secretary of Pakistan went to Bangladesh to discuss the issue. As a result, those people who were already identified during the first movement and who were left behind for various reasons were resettled in Pakistan in 1983. About 6000 people have been settled in Lahore. They have not sold their houses or moved to Karachi, as some had feared; they have been well-accepted by Punjabis in Lahore. But this didn't resolve the problem.

In December 1982 a conference on Biharis was organised by the International Council of Voluntary Agencies. The Bangladesh government was represented, but unfortunately the Pakistani government was not. I think they thought that the purpose of the conference was to criticise the government of Pakistan. I was the chairman of the conference and I wouldn't permit any attacks upon the Pakistan government because, quite clearly, if you wish to persuade a government to move beyond the position it is taking the last thing you do is to criticise them.

In May 1983 the president made a statement at a press conference, which

was subsequently confirmed, that he was prepared for these people to be settled. He didn't give a figure. I then had discussions in Islamabad. We identified the figure as being something between 200,000-250,000. It is difficult to understand why the figure varies. I had a figure from the government of Bangladesh that there were in the ration book 211,000 people, so I reckon the figure to be more than this but not more than 250,000. I was then asked to produce a budget. The budget I worked out was almost identical to the figure that the Pakistan finance minister had said it would cost, although he based his on 350,000 people whereas I had based mine on 250,000. The next question was how to raise the money.

By then the Rabita (Muslim World League) had shown some interest in the Bihari problem. There had been a number of high-level visits to the camps in Bangladesh; they gave some assistance to improve the plight of the people there but they declined any commitment, so I started off by going to Jeddah for discussions with Dr Nasseef. I then went to most of the Gulf states, including Kuwait, and had discussions with the foreign ministers and the leaders of the delegations who would be attending the Islamic foreign ministers' conference in Dhaka two weeks' hence. I told them the story and they promised that they would spare an hour or so in Dhaka to visit the camps.

Then, together with Dr Nasseef and a Pakistani official, I rounded up the foreign ministers and we visited some of the camps in Dhaka. They were deeply moved, and said that they would, of course, help in every way. The Kuwaiti representative told me that his government had previously considered this on two or more occasions, that the ruler was committed to assistance, and he actually quoted a statement indicating that they would virtually guarantee that the total sum be raised. That was a successful operation.

I then went to Islamabad and had useful discussions with Pakistani officials, including Mr Sattar in the department of foreign affairs together with representatives of other government departments. They were prepared to accept 250,000 people provided the money was raised. Rabita then decided that they would enter into a commitment, and in March 1984 Sheikh Attas of the

Rabita delivered to the president a letter confirming their commitment to raise the sum required to resettle 250,000 people.

There was a lot of work done behind the scenes in Pakistan, such as assessing suitable sites and determining the size of the colonies. Colonies of roughly 3000, on the outskirts of cities mainly in the Punjab, were discussed.

I met General Saadat, chairman of the National Construction Company of Pakistan. He came to London, and we had two meetings on how the project should be carried out. President Zia had been known to hold the view that it should be done as quickly as possible; he wanted to be satisfied that eventually all the money would be raised and therefore that all the 250,000 people — if that was the figure — would be moved.

The president decided to set up a joint committee of four representatives of the government of Pakistan and four to be appointed by the Rabita. He appointed the foreign minister, the minister of the interior, the minister of finance and the cabinet secretary, while the Rabita appointed Sheikh Attas, Justice Afzal Cheema, Professor Asad Hussain from the United States and myself. I have subsequently raised the question as to whether it would be better to have a fourth person who was a Muslim and not a non-Muslim. No meeting of this joint committee has taken place.

The attitude of the government of Bangladesh has been very cooperative. When I visited Dhaka this time I put forward the suggestion that either the Bangladesh government with the cooperation of the International Committee of the Red Cross, or the ICRC on behalf of the government, should do a careful survey, not only to ascertain the precise numbers of Biharis but their ages, their family structure, their skills and so on, so that we could produce a priority list. I think some of the early repatriated people may be employed in building the houses meant for them. This is also the view of General Saadat, that as soon as houses are completed people should be moved from Bangladesh.

I have suggested that people should not simply be given houses that they could sell but that they should in a sense pay rent. As soon as they are in a position to pay, they should pay into a fund which would be a revolving fund so that they feel that these are not houses they can sell but houses that they could buy.

The repatriation project would be phased. It is always better this way. I want to see a very early meeting of the joint committee where all the issues related to the settlement could be finalised. It is a huge task. It will be one of the biggest planned migrations in our history.

I understand the new Pakistani prime minister is very sympathetic to this cause, and a lot of people elected to the assembly are very sympathetic. In all the Gulf states I discussed the question of Biharis working there. Most of them quite rightly took the view that there are possibilities for the skilled workers provided that they have citizenship, so the first thing is to get them accepted as citizens by Pakistan then some of them might go and work in the Gulf.

At one time there was a suggestion that some of these Biharis could be settled in Malaysia and Australia. In fact, it was Tenku Abdur Rahman who thought some of them might be settled in Malaysia. But I don't think this is being considered because the people want to go to Pakistan.

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PAKISTAN

BRIEFS

NOTICES AGAINST SBFP LEADERS--Hyderabad, Sept 20: A meeting of leaders and workers of banned PPP, all over Sind, was held recently at the residence of PPP leader, Mohammad Yousuf Talpur, recently to consider the implication of show-cause notice issued to Mr. Mumtaz Ali Bhutto and Abdul Hafeez Pirzada by the Party's Central Committee. A resolution, unanimously adopted at the meeting, protested against the said notice. The meeting demanded that the PPP Chairperson, Miss Bhutto, should suspend the decision till such time as Mr. Bhutto and Mr. Pirzada are able to appear before the central committee in person and explain their point of view. [Text] [Karachi DAWN in English 21 Sep 85 p 2]

INDEMNITY BILL CRITICIZED--Quetta, Sept 20: The defunct Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam, (JUI) Baluchistan, has criticized the Indemnity Bill in its present form, and called for radical changes in it, before its adoption by the National Assembly, says a Party Press release. The Baluchistan JUI, which met under the chairmanship of its provincial Amir, Maulana Abdul Wahid, held in depth discussions on the Bill. The meeting was of the view that it should not be adopted by the National Assembly in its present form as it would be detrimental to the supreme interest of democracy in the country. The meeting, the Press release added, also reviewed current economic and political conditions in the country. It demanded remedial measures to correct national economy and put it on true Islamic lines. Regarding the political situation, the meeting demanded immediate lifting of restriction on Press and political activities, if the Government was really serious for the revival of democracy, in accordance with the wishes and aspiration of people. This would enable the nation and the country to come to a general consensus on solving internal and external problems facing the nation today, it added. [Text] [Karachi DAWN in English 21 Sep 85 p 2]

ARREST OF TRIBESMEN REPORTED--The political authorities of the Khyber agency arrested seven Afridi tribesmen at Torkham who had gone to the other side of the border some time ago and were using Radio Kabul for anti-Pakistani propaganda at the behest of the Karmal administration. According to reports, Malik Deen and other persons from Kukikhel and (Zakhakhel) tribes used the radio to express dissatisfaction with the Islamization program, referendum, laws, and the assembly elections. They were recognized when returning home and were arrested by the political authorities. [Text] [Rawalpindi HAIDAR in Urdu 24 Sep 85 p 8]

23 October 1985

LEFT BANK OUTFALL DRAIN--Hyderabad, Sept 20: The work on the Left Bank Outfall Drain (LBOD), stage one, is in full swing and so far Rs. 972 million have been spent on this project. This was disclosed in the fourth meeting of the steering committee of LBOD, held under the chairmanship of Additional Chief Secretary Planning and Development, Sind, Mr. A. B. Soomro on Thursday. The meeting was informed that LBOD project was expected to be completed by June 1986, at the cost of about nine thousand million Rs. with 50 per cent foreign exchange component. It is financed by eight foreign donor agencies. Mr. Soomro told the meeting that on completion, the Project will provide drainage facilities to an irrigated area of about 13 lacs situated on the left bank of River Indus and will provide additional irrigational water to raise the cropping intensity from 86 per cent to 120 per cent. [Text] [Karachi DAWN in English 21 Sep 85 p 2]

MAGAZINE FORFEITED--Sialkot, Sept 10--The Punjab Government has ordered forfeiture of all copies of the English fortnightly CRESCENT dated Jan 15, 1985, published from Ontario, Canada, by Zafar Bangash, as it contains objectionable material under West Pakistan Press and Publications Ordinance, 1963. The Punjab Government has also ordered forfeiture of a letter issued by one Muhammad Ahmed Qadiani which contains objectionable material under the West Pakistan Press and Publications Ordinance, 1963.--PPI [Text] [Karachi DAWN in English 11 Sep 85 p 2]

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